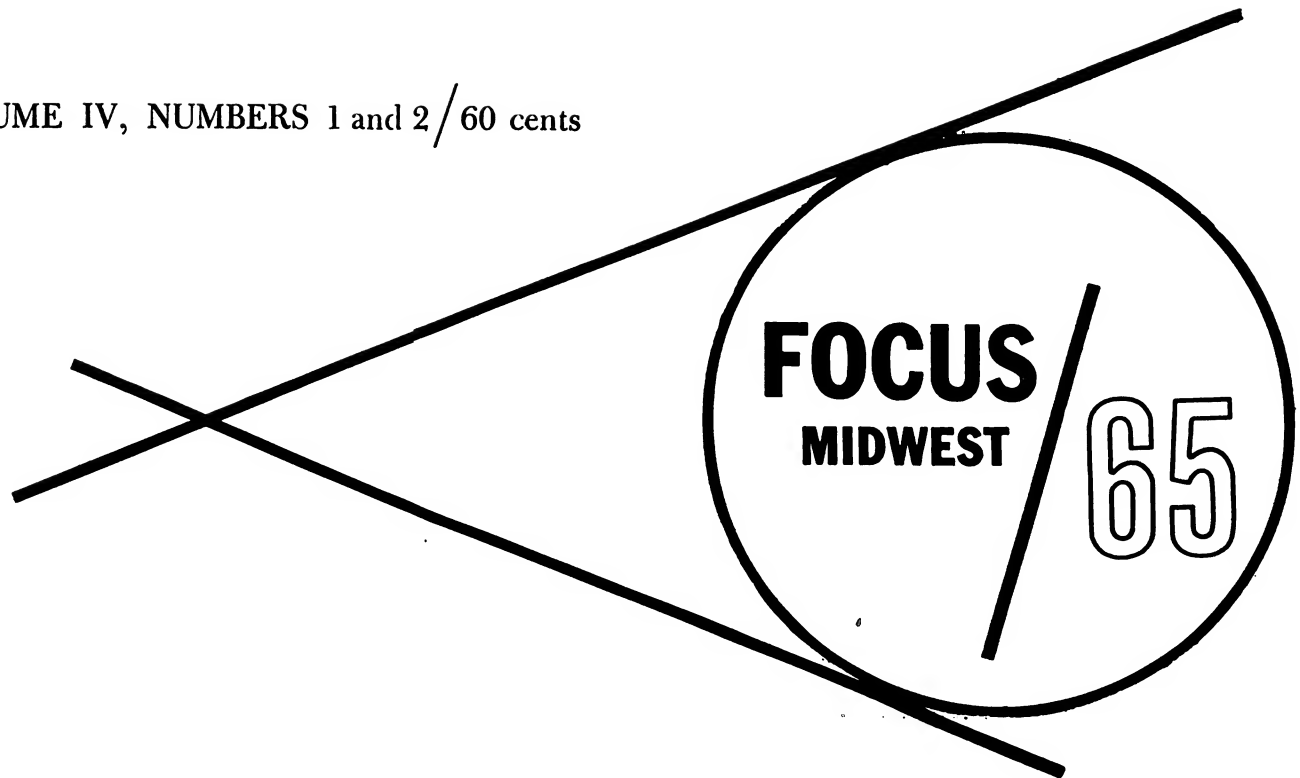


VOLUME IV, NUMBERS 1 and 2 / 60 cents



## ***Press Swallows Motorola Hoax***

D. L. Westberg

## ***Educator Censors Civic Fathers***

Raymond E. Callahan

***Are Job Tests Reliable?*** / J. S. Fuerst

***Jefferson Citians Smart Under Weldon Press*** / B. G. Lander

***The Aged: A Medical Blind Spot*** / H. T. Blumenthal

***Illinois' Forgotten Genius*** / Richard H. Schneider

***Radio, A Wasteland by FCC Order*** / Lorenzo W. Milam

And

Robert H. Salisbury on State and Government ■ Robert Farnsworth  
on Kansas City Education ■ Reviews by Harry T. Moore  
Poems by John Unterecker ■ Illinois and Missouri State and  
Congressional Voting Records

*(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)*

The "Two-Billion-Dollar-A-Year" business in pornography often referred to by decent-literature groups and over-zealous law enforcement people, actually would account for more than the total book business in the country and would represent three per cent of the gross national product.

From *ACLU Press Service*  
(This estimate was used as recently as June 27 in a UPI dispatch on "Obscene Mail" and published in the *Chicago Sun-Times*.)

While a small bookstore proprietor was indicted by a Cook County grand jury for possessing and selling the nearly 200-year-old book "Fanny Hill," identical charges against Kroch's and Brentano, one of the largest Chicago book centers, were inexplicably withdrawn by Manuel L. Port, assistant city corporation counsel. Only one of the 12 members of the grand jury admitted that she reads books. The Illinois statute exempts most professional persons from jury service.

The Missouri House defeated a proposed \$1 hourly minimum wage by a 68-83 vote. The 68 "yes" votes came from districts representing 2,876,935 persons, while the 83 "no" votes came from areas representing a population of 1,337,255.

From testimony by Andrew J. Biemiller, AFL-CIO, in opposition to proposed constitutional amendments doing away with the "one man, one vote" principle in state legislatures.

When Herbert L. Mathews, Latin American expert on the *New York Times*, addressed a Washington University student assembly on Cuba, the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* felt bound to tell its readers: "... there was nothing subversive about Mathews' coming to St. Louis. ..."

"A peace promotion group called the Fellowship of Reconciliation parted ways recently with Pitney-Bowes, the big mailing machine company. F.O.R. took its business to Postalia, Inc., because Pitney-Bowes refused to permit use of a new cancellation slogan: 'Peace is Priceless — War Is Costly.'"

From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

Thomas F. Eagleton, Missouri's Lieutenant Governor, was accused of a "sell-out" and "total disregard" of his honor by Missouri bankers for saving Missouri \$1,000,000 a year. Leaning on Senate rules, he took no action on a bill which would have allowed banks to pay one per cent less on idle state funds than that paid on such money by the federal government.

The St. Louis Civic Center Redevelopment Corporation has been negotiating with Walt Disney to create "a major attraction having the impact on the St. Louis area of a Disneyland." Recently, the talks collapsed. Rumors claim that Mr. Disney made excessive demands. Polished releases speak of "imponderable factors." So far, St. Louis leaders have failed to report to its public.

The City of Creve Coeur (Mo.) Board of Aldermen enacted a censorship law which leaves the judgment as to the obscenity of a book or magazine up to the arresting police officers. He has no guidelines except his opinion of "accepted standards of morality."

For the first three months of 1965, (television) viewing set a record of six hours, 21 minutes per home per day, according to A. C. Nielsen.

From *Television Information Office*

From an advertisement: "The University of Dallas — an institution dedicated to excellence in the great traditions of the West — in science, art, philosophy, politics, and literature — invites non-permissive parents to send their sons and daughters to it."

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### *It's Candy-Time*

F/M: I have just read your article "It's Candy-Time in St. Louis" (by Harriett Woods) in the current issue of *FOCUS/Midwest*. I should like to compliment you on your grasp of a difficult subject and the fair and objective way in which you presented the major points of view. I hope you'll continue to keep in touch with our activities.

William H. Webster,  
Chairman St. Louis County  
Decent Literature Commission

### *"The Grahams . . ."*

F/M: I am writing to you to thank you for the editorial, "There Are The Grahams . . ." (Vol. III, Nos. 8-9). It was very good. So many people seem to be uninformed about Senate Joint Resolution 2 and unaware of the importance it would have in establishing some form of privileged voter. The Dirksen Amendment is only one of many attempts to overrule the Supreme Court's ruling of "one man-one vote," and it has the support of Senator Stuart M. Symington. Many more letters (opposing this amendment) should be mailed to him, to Senator Edward V. Long, and to all congressmen.

James H. Gill  
Kansas City, Missouri

### *Prefers Benton to Picasso*

F/M: America is currently having a great cultural boom, and it's all a person can do to escape the fallout. We put up monstrous structures like the Lincoln Center, spend \$200 million a year on recorded classical music, and give gala dinners at the White House for poets, artists, and musicians. It's fine that so many people are culture-conscious. What upsets me is the way they try to make the rest of us *self-conscious* about what they consider our lack of culture. It's hard to read through any halfway serious publication without having someone try to rub your nose in his particular brand of culture. I resent the half-hidden insinuations that just because I prefer Dixieland to Bach, my cultural level is so low as to completely defy classification.

At first, I was taken in by this

aesthetic evangelism. I even attempted to raise my "level" of culture. I wanted to be in, culturally. I attended a modern art exhibit and wished afterward that I had gone to Jefferson City to look at the Thomas Hart Benton murals in the state capitol. Benton has it all over Picasso, as far as I'm concerned. At least his people look like people and his horses look like horses. The only person I know who could recognize Picasso's "The Blue Owl" as an owl is my five-year-old nephew, and that's only because he draws owls that closely resemble Picasso's. Now, I don't mean to belittle Mr. Picasso. He is one of the greatest artists of our time; all the culture experts say so. It's just that I don't dig him. And this, according to what I read, establishes me on a very low cultural plane.

I'll be the first to admit greatness in the old masters, but I refuse to believe that there is no greatness in modern American artists. I resent the implications that American art, music, and literature has to conform to some classical, European pattern before it qualifies as culture. What's wrong with strictly American products like jazz and *South Pacific*? Why should we have to use someone else's standards to judge the elements of our culture? By the same token, why should I be expected to have the same tastes as everyone else? For instance, I enjoy folk music — did even before *Hootenanny*. In fact, I prefer it to classical music, but does that make me uncultured? And I'm not happy to read articles that imply I am letting America down, culture-wise.

Being an American, and utterly proud of the fact, I happen to be partial to quite a list of things purely American in origin. I like jazz, Midwestern humor, western movies, apple pie, and corn flakes. I hesitate to speculate how these items contribute to our culture, but they *are* American, and I have a particular fondness for them. However, that is not sufficient reason for me to diagnose a cultural deficiency in those who fail to share my liking. And, my Missouri hackles

stir when someone tells me that brand of culture is "higher" or "better" than mine. These experts who imply that I am unsophisticated because I have more Billy Vaughn records than Vladimir Horowitz albums rub me the wrong way.

The culture of a people — any people — is the result of many, many concepts. Culture is parallel in structure, not stratified. I am tired of having people try to pry me up to a higher "level" of culture.

J. R. Ritchie  
Columbia, Missouri

### *How Old the St. Louis Philharmonic?*

F/M: After years of living with it, I have decided to add a corrective footnote to the cultural history of St. Louis. The present Philharmonic orchestra started in 1893 and not in 1860 as one can find in numerous books and publications.

The first St. Louis instrumental group to assume the title Philharmonic was founded at St. Louis University in 1838. It originally consisted of about thirty students and faculty members and enjoyed an uninterrupted career from 1838 to 1881. Its first conductor was William Robyn, father of Alfred George, its last was C. J. Richter. Its function was to enliven academic functions and to assist in the celebration of the usual church and national holidays. It was fortunate in having an excellent assortment of instruments brought over from Belgium.

The second group to assume the title Philharmonic was the St. Louis Philharmonic Society, which was organized at a public meeting on June 21, 1860. Its personnel consisted of professional musicians plus a sprinkling of technically capable amateurs. It flourished for ten seasons, its first concert dating October 18, 1860, its sixty-second, April 21, 1870. It had three conductors — Eduard Sobolewski, who served for six seasons; August Waldauer, who conducted the seventh season; and Egmont Froelich, who was active during the last three seasons.

The third Philharmonic Society came into existence by virtue of a Pro Forma Decree of Incorporation granted October 31, 1893 to a group consisting of J. A. James, president; O. H. P. Grundon, secretary; and Emile Karst, musical director. This Philharmonic seems not to have gotten off the ground for there are no records of rehearsals or concerts.

The fourth Philharmonic was  
*Continued on Page 9*

## Principle or Emphasis?

**I**N a commentary on Negro residency, the Chicago Urban League declares:

... residential segregation, by race, is not on the decline. The many social, economic, and moral injustices, which are the constant and natural companions of segregated housing, will continue to plague the Negro population, as well as the entire City of Chicago, itself, for a long time to come — unless effective legislative action is taken to reverse the present trend.

One of the natural companions of segregated housing is segregated and deficient education. In some cities the problem is compounded by the insensitivity of its school officials, such as in Chicago where Superintendent Benjamin C. Willis refuses to recognize the hopes and aspirations of the Negro community.

While in Chicago the "neighborhood school" concept has racial overtones stemming from opposition to bussing Negro students and Willis' maneuvers to sidetrack the recommendations of the scholarly Havighurst and Hauser surveys; in Kansas City our columnist Robert Farnsworth sees the lack of inner-city schools as abandoning the "neighborhood school" concept for the Negro. We join with our columnist in deploring the lack of schools, lack of integration, and lack of funds. Fortunately, voters recently approved a \$18-million bond issue after defeating it twice. The issue will provide more than \$11 million for schools in the inner city.

Unfortunately, Mr. Farnsworth did not support any of the recent school bond issues, because the school board did not ask for enough funds. We can understand opposition in principle if the trend of a proposal may provide momentary help only but defeat long-range solutions. But Mr. Farnsworth agrees with the board in principle; he does challenge their inadequate planning and timidity in seeking funds. This drawback, we feel, does not warrant withholding support no matter how committed to civil rights we are. In view of the additional opposition by arch-conservatives and many Catholic parents, it is surprising that the bond issue passed.

During the coming school year, Kansas City will engage in a bussing plan for the express purpose of integrating its schools. Students from the first to the seventh grade will be transported and fully integrated into receiving schools. Kansas City seems to be working at its problems.

### A "Putsch" in Mt. Prospect

**I**T isn't very exciting to campaign for such commonplace and middle-of-the-road values as better human relations and a more democratic society. It isn't, unless you become involved,

## EDITORIALS

and then many constructive efforts begin to make sense.

A number of residents of Mt. Prospect, Illinois decided to organize a Human Relations Group. At the first meeting, attended by about 40, preliminary plans were made and a second meeting was scheduled. The second meeting was attended by about 25 persons who attended the first affair, as well as 40 "others" who rammed through the election of a temporary chairman, spoke against "mongrelizing" the races, and resolved not to organize a Human Relations Group. The leaders of the "putsch" were a Mrs. C. Jerome Sullivan, who is identified with the Young Americans for Freedom; a Mr. and Mrs. Edwin J. Kudalis; and a Rev. Paul D. Lindstrom, who has just organized a new interdenominational Church of Christian Liberty which sponsors speakers such as Karl Prussion, a member of the board of policy of the extremist Liberty Lobby, and opposes the National Council of Churches.

Of course, the original conveners will ultimately organize themselves anyway. But the damage has been done. Community energy which should have gone into positive and substantive programs, is being absorbed by organizational battles. Every lost skirmish is very important. It delays inevitable social changes. And delays can have serious consequences.

### An American Council?

**T**HE possibility that the Vatican draft declaration on the Jews will be diluted before presentation to the next Ecumenical Council this fall has stirred people of all faiths in the United States. Although the Vatican sources have issued immediate denials, the state of the world makes it quite plausible that many political pressures labor against the declaration. It should also come as no surprise that the tradition of the deicide charge, no matter how illogical on historical or theological grounds, has the support of fundamentalists who are not necessarily anti-Jewish but fear for the influence of the Church.

American Catholic bishops, particularly those in the Midwest, have strongly supported the declaration. It can be assumed that they will employ the full weight of their influence in Rome. If they with other progressive forces at the Council succeed, the Church will grow immensely in stature and maturity.

If they fail, what then? We believe other alternatives are open to American Catholics. The American bishops could convene an American council on this question and express their individual and collective convictions on the deicide charge. By no means do we suggest a separatist movement or an American resolution which would contravene the collective view of the universal Church. But we cannot imagine how American Catholic bish-

ops, after their enlightened challenge to tradition, can do anything less than publicly establish their position.

The American bishops could agree on such a declaration while in Rome and bring it to fruition upon their return. The likelihood of such a move may have very salutary effects on the whole Vatican Council.

### A Political Mistake

**T**HERE is little excuse for politicians, such as Missouri Governor Warren E. Hearnes and Democratic Representative Richard H. Ichord, not to know the purpose of institutions such as the Missouri Freedom Forum. Both dignified the recently held Forum with their presence and speeches.

Annually, about 200 high school youngsters, many sponsored by local groups, assemble at Mexico, Missouri, to be exposed to a one-sided philosophy, distortions, and outright falsehoods. Sponsors of the affair are the Missouri Farm Bureau, the Missouri Chamber of Commerce, and the Missouri Military Academy at Mexico.

Who are some of the people with whom the prominent Missouri officials shared the speaker's platform? W. Cleon Skousen is one; he was called "... an incipient Hitler ..." by former Salt Lake City Mayor J. Bracken Lee, himself a conservative. John Noble is another; he was thoroughly discredited in our last issue and we never received an explanation to our query as to why he and his parents served Germany's war effort, and why he avoided military service in the U.S. during World War II. Then there is Nicholas Nyaradi, who considers Africans "... first generation cannibals ..." There are others, similarly qualified.

But maybe Gov. Hearnes and Rep. Ichord were impressed by the sponsors. The following excerpts from a June 1965 editorial in the official publication of the Missouri Farm Bureau reiterates the known position of the MFB.:

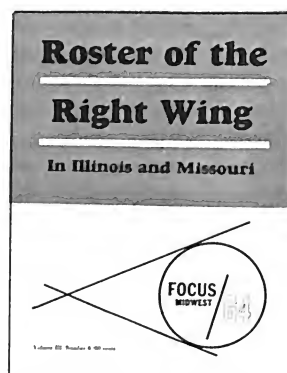
*We are no longer creeping, rather we are running toward a socialistic form of government ... Even more disturbing is the realization that many of our country's leaders and policymakers are depending on the Communist Manifesto for the basis of many of their speeches ... Very few people realize the "Voting Right Act of 1965" was actively planned by the Reds in 1956 ...*

In the eyes of the Missouri officials, their participation may be justified by the presence of so many high school students. This is wrong. They could have benefited the students and Missouri much more by very publicly turning down the invitation and asking parents and civic groups not to support the Forum. We doubt that the speeches by Hearnes and Ichord, no doubt constructive, could have balanced the drivel expounded for days by the other speakers. We cannot ask any politician to forego addressing the Chamber or the Farm Bureau, but we don't think they should give their blessings to such ill-conceived offsprings as the Forum which opposes nearly everything they stand for.

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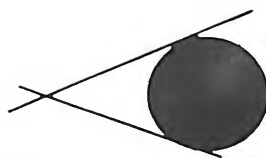
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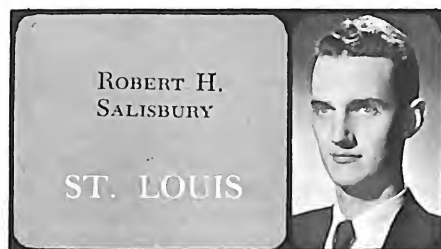
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## DATELINES



They said it couldn't be done, but he did it. Missouri Governor Warren Hearnes managed to talk the legislature into letting him and his successors run for a second term.

The proposal has been made several times before as a device to strengthen the hand of the governor in dealing with the General Assembly. Because it means a relative loss in their power to shape the state's affairs, most legislators had been adamantly opposed to the proposition. House Speaker Thomas Graham and Senate Majority Leader William Waters are still opposed. Even so, however, the bill passed by a wide margin. Now it must be voted on by the people before it can be incorporated into the Missouri Constitution. That means a formidable obstacle is yet to be overcome. But the biggest hurdle, a still unrepportioned legislature, no longer blocks stronger gubernatorial leadership for the state.

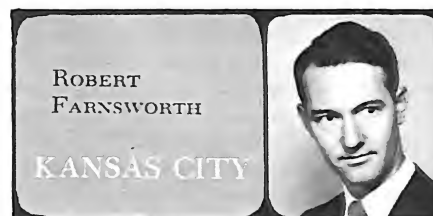
What difference will it make? Well, the idea is to get stronger executive leadership. What for? Presumably, if the governor has a future, he will be encouraged to fight for a program. He will buck the stand-patters and lean harder on the legislature in order to build a record of positive achievement. This, at least, is the theory, and as a result conservatives have generally been opposed to the change. They are quite aware that "a record of positive achievement" will cost a very large amount of money, and they don't want achievement that badly.

Missouri has long been woefully laggard in almost every type of state public service. The state ranks in the top one-third of the states (the exact position varies from about 12th to

20th depending on the year) in per capita income. It is usually in the bottom one-third in most areas of expenditure. Education, highways, mental health, and many types of welfare are all service areas in which Missouri shows up badly. A mediocre university system and primitive roads may not have mattered much a generation or two ago, at least not to most residents of the state. Perhaps then a few extra tax dollars really were more important than better quality public facilities. But not now. The willingness of new business to move in, the ability to hold home-grown talent within the state, and the capacity to attract skilled personnel from elsewhere have all become crucial to the economic progress of each state along with its local communities. The quality of public services and amenities — recreation, education, and the like — is crucial in turn to this pulling and holding power. And Missouri is in trouble on every one of these points.

Some of them cannot really be controlled by any public decisions at the state or local level. There isn't much the governor can do to improve the weather. Most of the investment in lakes and other outdoor recreation facilities must come from Washington. But the university and college system is within the state-controlled public sector and Missouri is presently in pretty sad shape on this count. Missouri's two big cities need more help than Jefferson City has been giving them. So do the larger metropolitan areas surrounding St. Louis and Kansas City. The public assistance programs are a century or so behind the needs. *And almost everything will cost a great big pot of money.*

Governor Hearnes has been acting as if he really wants to do something about most of these problems. If he is permitted to succeed himself he will have some additional incentive, and some additional power, to play an even stronger role. But it will take strength and guts and no doubt some political clout to get across the big message: that Missourians are going to have to pay vastly more money in taxes in order to build first class public facilities if they are to have a chance to compete for a reasonable share of the nation's economic growth. Warren Hearnes will have to tell them and make them like it well enough to re-elect him. I don't envy him the job.



There has been much confusion over the bussing of students by the Kansas City School system. Since that bussing now seems certain to increase, a review of the causes seems in order.

"Bussing" seems to associate automatically in many persons' minds with civil rights efforts to achieve integration by transporting students out of de facto segregated schools. That has never been the reason for bussing students in Kansas City, although the *Kansas City Star* and some members of the school board have unjustly attempted to shift the onus for bussing onto civil rights groups. (Civil rights groups have insisted that students *already being bussed* must be integrated into receiving schools to avoid racial segregation, and they have *requested* that students *already being bussed* be assigned to schools where integrated educational experiences would be possible. But in no case have the civil rights groups asked that students be bussed for integration.)

The fact of the matter is that during the late fifties and early sixties there has been a tremendous swelling of the school population in the Negro community combined with a relatively rapid southward movement by this community which the Kansas City school administration failed to anticipate. Whether the administration should have anticipated this growth and movement or not is debatable.

Kansas City citizens supported bond proposals totalling 27 million dollars in 1956. The planning for the spending of those funds was done during the period when the school system was integrating its students as a result of the 1954 Supreme Court decision. As a result, past experience provided a poor base to make long-range plans for school building. But the school system made such plans, modifying them somewhat as the evidence mounted of chronic need for schools in areas which had not been planned for. The school administration, however, was never able to shift its plans sufficiently to meet the unanticipated needs. By September 1960, it was necessary to bus seven

classes of children from the overcrowded Ladd elementary school to Humboldt.

Since that time, year by year, the bussing of elementary school children has increased because the schools located in the neighborhoods where the children are located cannot house them, while schools in other parts of the city have empty classrooms.

There have been no bond proposals approved between 1956 and early 1965. This year, after three tries and clearly aided by a blizzard which kept all but the organized vote down, a

bond proposal for 17½ million dollars was passed.

In this bond proposal there are three new elementary schools and one junior high projected to relieve the overcrowded area from which children are being bussed. The new elementary schools are planned to house 1,000 children each. The junior high will relieve the bussed elementary pupils by housing some of the seventh grade pupils now in the overcrowded schools. By a generous estimate, the new schools will house an additional 3,300 elementary school

students in the overcrowded area.

If plans were implemented with the greatest possible speed and no complicating delays, Superintendent Hazlett has estimated the schools could possibly be ready by the end of 1966 or beginning of 1967. A more reasonable, but still optimistic, estimate would be September 1967.

The crowded schools now have 1,508 students over capacity. By November 1967, the most probable date the schools could be in use, the school administration projects these same schools will be over capacity by 4,068 students, or more than 700 students more than the new schools could service. One year later the projected overenrollment is 5,493. That means the overcrowding in this area is projected to be worse by 1968 than it is now, even after the new schools are built.

But what makes this dismal prospect even more foreboding is the element of race. All of the bussing is being done from almost exclusively Negro schools. Negro schools are grossly overcrowded now and they will be grossly overcrowded even after the new schools are built. The junior and senior high school picture is deteriorating faster than the elementary school picture.

Thus, for the next several years whenever the Kansas City school board piously reaffirms its faith in "the neighborhood school," the Negro citizens of this area will hear, "We believe in the neighborhood school, but not for you. We can't afford to build enough schools for you. You have too many children."



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## LETTERS

*Continued from Page 4*

founded at the beginning of the season 1923-24, when the existing St. Louis Orchestra Club changed its name to the Philharmonic Society of St. Louis. The St. Louis Orchestra Club stemmed from the St. Louis Amateur Orchestra which had been Epstein as part of the student ac- (today's Philharmonic) which has enjoyed an uninterrupted existence from the season 1893-94 to date.

tivity at Beethoven Conservatory. It is the St. Louis Amateur Orchestra founded in 1893 by Abraham Isaac Ernst C. Krohn St. Louis


(EDITOR'S NOTE: Mr. Krohn is the former director of music at St. Louis University. He has published two books and many articles on the history of music.)

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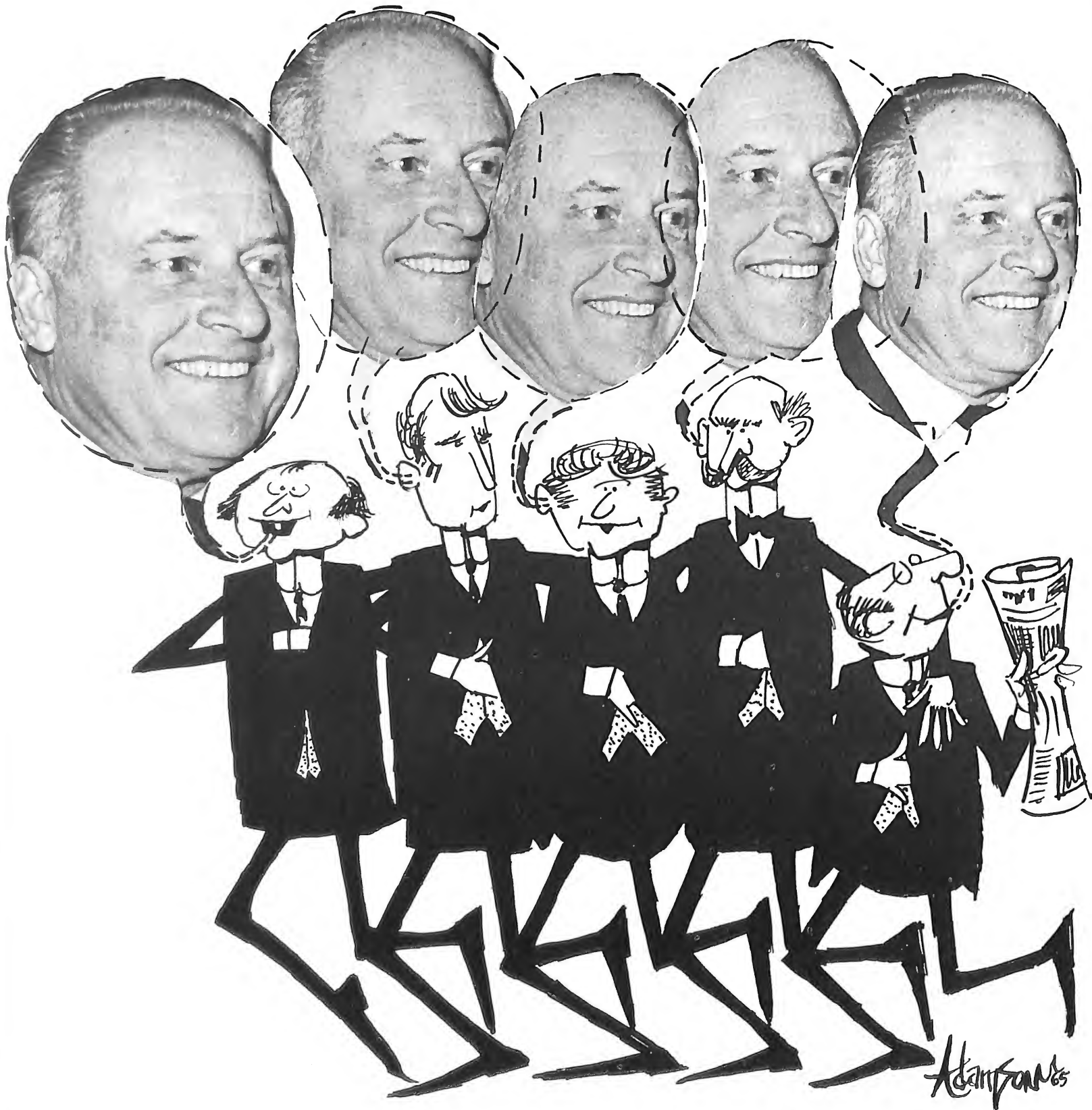
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# PRESS SWALLOWS MOTOROLA HOAX

D. L. WESTBERG



**S**ELDOM in journalism has a story been as outrageously distorted as in the case of Motorola Inc.'s now famous battle against Illinois' fledgling Fair Employment Practices Commission.

Falsehood and half-truth were so recklessly stamped into the public consciousness — primarily by Motorola with unwitting help of the press — that even a vague appreciation of the truth will never be widely held.

In this case, the twisted truth needlessly alarmed hundreds of thousands of honorable businessmen.

It distracted Congress, deep in debate on the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and forced the national legislature to hammer a tail-end amendment onto that act.

More recently, it led to the public disgrace and ouster of Charles W. Gray as chairman of the FEPC, and kept the Illinois Legislature fudging around with a host of proposed changes in the FEPC law.

There are a number of impersonal villains in how this story became nationally misrepresented, not the least of which are the FEPC's fuzzy language in some of its decisions and its unwillingness to fight back in *public*, considering itself a quasi-judicial agency.

However, if we had to single out the foremost cause in mangling the facts in this controversy, we would have to turn to practitioners of our own craft. Without question, sloppy journalism is at fault, maybe more at fault than Motorola.

A brief review is necessary to trace the controversy.

## Myart Passed The Test

Two years ago — in July, 1963 — a 28-year-old Chicago Negro who applied for a job at Motorola charged that the firm refused to hire him because of his race.

The applicant, Leon Myart, said he had taken and passed Motorola's pre-employment test but still was not hired, although there were job openings.

That's all Myart charged in his complaint. Nothing more, nothing less.

On February 26, 1964, a hearing examiner for the FEPC upheld Myart in this complaint. Nine months later, the full five-member FEPC upheld this complaint.

*It is crucial to an understanding of the story to constantly remember that Myart always contended that he had passed the pre-employment test, and that the FEPC consistently found that the weight of evidence supported this contention.*

(In fact, the full FEPC ruled that despite the evidence that Myart passed the test, Motorola falsely recorded his score on his application form as a failing grade.)

It is also important to know that the pre-employment test was in no way an aptitude test designed to measure Myart's ability to handle the job he sought. He applied for a job as a "phaser and analyzer" of television parts. According to Motorola, its five-minute-long pre-employment test is a low-level test designed to screen out applicants with minimum intel-

ligence.

It is these two points (whether Myart passed the test, and the type of test involved) that the press almost universally ignored or distorted in its coverage.

## The First Twist

We have to return to the February, 1964, ruling by the FEPC hearing officer to find the first unfortunate twist in the story. The examiner, Robert E. Bryant, himself a Negro, was not content merely to rule that Myart passed the test and that Motorola should therefore have hired him. Bryant felt impelled to include in his decision a number of observations about pre-employment tests generally. Admitting that these observations were not necessary to the finding against Motorola, Bryant proceeded to criticize the Motorola test and others like it which, he contended, were derived from all-white norms and therefore unfair to "disadvantaged and culturally deprived groups."

Bryant then ordered Motorola to stop using its particular test and suggested that it substitute one that shall "reflect and equate inequalities and environmental factors among the disadvantaged and culturally deprived groups."

It is interesting to speculate on what would have been the outcome of this case if Bryant had simply ruled on Myart's specific complaint and had not ventured into sociological waters on the issue of pre-employment tests. No doubt, the name of Myart

would have created no more than a pimple on the flow of news.

As it was, however, Myart's complaint was lost in the storm of controversy that swept the nation.

Motorola instigated the dispatch of thousands of letters and telegrams to state and federal legislators. The well-financed campaign was run by Kenneth Piper, Motorola vice president of human relations, an ex-FBI agent. The hoax was also supported by the Illinois Manufacturers' Association and the Associated Employers of Illinois.

Newspapers in Illinois and elsewhere quickly reported that the FEPC examiner ordered Motorola to hire Myart "despite the fact that Myart had flunked an aptitude test."

The *Chicago Tribune* reprinted the 28-question Motorola test, and thousands of *Tribune* readers, finding the questions relatively simple, were outraged that a state agency would force a company to hire anyone who couldn't achieve a passing score (seven questions answered correctly).

As the wire services (AP and UPI) carried this irresponsibly simple interpretation of the case to newspapers everywhere, the nation was caught up in the indignation. Motorola accused the FEPC of trying "to impose the unlegislated concept of 'Negro Preferential Hiring,' a lower standard for (hiring) Negroes than others."

U. S. Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R. Ill.), busily guiding Senate passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, cited the decision in a Senate speech in which he successfully plugged for an amendment withholding from the government the power to infringe on an employer's right to administer pre-employment tests.

## The Irresponsible Press

Some examples of the press coverage are noteworthy:

—*Chicago Daily News*, March 21, 1964, in a column by John S. Knight which is printed in several other newspapers across the country: "A Negro who failed the test charged that he was denied employment because of his race . . . In other words, merit and ability and Motorola's standards of performance were cast aside and the employer lost his rights . . . The warning is clear."

—*Chicago Sun-Times*, March 19, 1964, in an editorial: "A Negro job applicant at Motorola was given a general intelligence and *job suitability test* . . . Advised that he failed

the test, the applicant complained to the FEPC . . . The peril to freedom in the case is the suggestion that government has the right to set aside accepted standards of employee competence and require private companies to hire people for political or social reasons."

—*Chicago Sun-Times*, March 22, 1964, in a story about Sen. Arthur A. Ribicoff (D.-Conn.): "Ribicoff, who formerly was FEPC chairman in his home state, said he had read of the Illinois case, in which the FEPC examiner . . . directed the firm to hire a Negro who had failed the test."

—*Chicago Tribune*, April 14, 1964, in a dispatch filed from Washington: The FEPC "ordered the company to hire a Negro applicant who had failed the test."

In other words, a Motorola *contention*, that Myart flunked the test, was picked up by the press as an undisputed *fact*, and the pre-employment test became an *aptitude* test.

The controversy raged on through the spring, summer, and fall of 1964. Many began to suspect that the full FEPC was stalling in its review of Motorola's appeal in order to avoid political implications in the November election. For one thing, the FEPC chairman, Charles W. Gray, was director of industrial relations of Bell & Howell whose president, Charles H. Percy, was the GOP candidate for Illinois governor. (However, Percy had publicly disagreed with the Bryant decision early in the controversy. In fact, Percy said he hoped that the commission "rebukes" Bryant because of the decision.)

In late November — a few weeks after the general election — the FEPC handed down its decision: (1) That Myart had passed the Motorola test; (2) That Motorola was guilty of racial discrimination in not hiring Myart; (3) That no useful purpose would be served by Motorola's hiring Myart, as ordered by Bryant; (4) That Motorola should instead pay Myart \$1,000 in "compensatory damages," and (5) that since Myart's complaint did not allege that the Motorola test was unfair, and since the FEPC lacks statutory authority to initiate complaints, the whole controversy over the Motorola test "is beyond the purview of this commission."

Again, there was a national uproar, and again journalists seemed not to care whether Myart passed the test or not.

Arthur Krock, devoting two columns to the subject in the influential *New York Times*, sharply attacked the FEPC for upholding Bryant, "who ordered the Motorola company to hire him (Myart) despite his failure to pass its aptitude test." Krock quoted approvingly from a pamphlet of the American Management Assn., as though the following had some bearing on the Motorola case:

"Some well-meaning people are so intent on getting jobs for underprivileged people that they tend to overlook the other side of the coin. Placing a man on a job he cannot handle is no favor to him or to the cause."

Here, as in so many other accounts of the case, the story overlooks the FEPC's contention, stated in its decision, that Motorola made no attempt to learn Myart's qualifications for the job and, in fact, did not include space for Myart to list his formal schooling on the application form.

On Nov. 23, 1964, the civil rights-minded *Chicago Sun-Times* commented in an editorial: "When the job-seeker, Leon Myart, failed Motorola's test, he complained to the FEPC that it was unfair to 'culturally deprived and disadvantaged groups,' although such wording is not found in the statute. A commissioner examiner upheld Myart's interpretation of the law . . . An employer does have the right to discriminate against anyone who cannot pass an ability test as long as the test has no other purpose than to measure individual suitability for the job." This editorial as so many others is totally false on Myart's test, on his complaint, and on what the commissioner upheld.

## A New Distortion

Here another new twist comes in. Now, the whole subject of the fairness of the Motorola test becomes attributed to Myart's original complaint. Newspapers had to engage in remarkable double-think to believe this, because the fact that Myart's complaint *omitted* any mention of the fairness of the test is precisely why the full FEPC felt it lacked the power to go into the question. The Illinois statute specifically withholds from the FEPC power to *initiate* complaints, which is why the FEPC side-stepped ruling on Bryant's order to stop using the tests.

News stories about the FEPC's



After his ouster as FEPC chairman, Charles W. Gray warned "If one company (Motorola) and one newspaper (the Tribune) can do this to one citizen of Illinois, then nobody in this state is safe."

November ruling were as distorted as they had been the previous spring.

The *Chicago Tribune*, on Nov. 24, 1964, reviewed the background of the case and inserted as a complete sentence, without qualification: "Myart failed the aptitude test."

The lead in a *Chicago Sun-Times* story on Nov. 20, 1964, began: "The Illinois Fair Practices Commission Thursday ordered Motorola Inc. to pay \$1,000 to a Negro job applicant who failed a company intelligence test."

*Chicago's American*, on Nov. 20, 1964, stated: "Kenneth V. Piper, vice president in charge of human relations at Motorola Inc., said the company will not hire Leon Myart, who failed to pass a general ability test on July 15, 1963, and who subsequently filed the discrimination charge."

(The previous day, *Chicago American* completely misinterpreted the FEPC's order and headline: "Motorola Ordered To Hire Negro." Actually, the FEPC ruled that "no purpose would be served" by ordering Motorola to hire Myart, hence the \$1,000 compensatory award.)

Motorola appealed the ruling to the Cook County Circuit Court, which held that the FEPC had the right to find Motorola guilty of discrimination in the Myart case, but lacked the statutory authority to levy a \$1,000 award to Myart. Motorola regarded the Circuit Court ruling as a victory for the company's position.

During the FEPC's prolonged review of Bryant's initial ruling, several competent educators testified both for and against the fairness of the test. Because it is the purpose of this article to show that this question does not affect the basic issue involved, it is not necessary to review





Gov. Otto Kerner pledged to support Gray as FEPC chairman but no arms were twisted.

this testimony.

However, a few other sidelights should be discussed, if for no other reason than to protect this article from the charge that it conveniently overlooks certain aspects of the case.

### The Charge of Sodomy

Motorola publicly injected a question about Myart's moral background.

The company distributed to Illinois and Midwestern employers thousands and thousands of leaflets purporting to give its side of the case. Under the heading, "Motorola Reason for Rejection," the company reprinted the following from the text of the hearings (the questioner is a Motorola attorney, the answers are provided by Myart):

"Q. Have you ever been arrested?

"A. Yes.

"Q. Where?

"A. Columbus, Georgia.

"Q. What for?

"A. It was sodomy."

Motorola then questioned the intent of the FEPC's decision that Myart deserved \$1,000 because he "suffered embarrassment." "Is the commission saying an individual with a suspect moral background cannot be rejected?" the leaflet asked. "To set the record straight, Motorola will not reject because of race, but Motorola will reject because of morals as this is none of the commission's business.

"Motorola has a moral obligation to safeguard the morality of its thousands of employees who come from fine homes, and whose families expect Motorola to maintain a high moral climate."

The FEPC staff undertook to investigate Myart's so-called arrest record. The staff subsequently found that *Myart did not know the meaning of the word sodomy* (Myart's own



Charles H. Percy, by doing too late what he should have done earlier, was criticized by the liberals and for trying to speak up at all, by the conservatives.

brother said to him incredulously. "Don't you realize what that word means?" and Myart answered, "No, but I thought that was the charge.") Furthermore, the FEPC found that there is *no record* of an arrest of Myart either in the city files of Columbus or the state files of Georgia.

It was Myart's recollection that he had been among a large group of Negroes in a party who were arrested by Columbus police, who paid some fines to an official at the jail on a variety of non-descript charges, and who were immediately freed.

Motorola used Myart's ignorant use of "sodomy" not only in its underhanded campaign, but also in threats to the FEPC. They implied if they would be forced to hire Myart, they would inform the world that the FEPC compels them to employ a sodomist. The FEPC compromised. They found Motorola guilty but did not ask the company to hire Myart.

### Other Sidelights

Motorola also contended that it has been its practice for some time to hire qualified Negroes for jobs in their firm. However, the FEPC, in its decision, said that the commission could find no evidence to sustain the claim that Motorola hired Negroes in the job category sought by Myart until after *Myart filed his charge*. The FEPC further said that Motorola in August, 1963, *formally notified its foremen* that the company was about to begin hiring Negroes, implying that this was an innovation.

In the initial hearings before Bryant, Mr. Piper, the Motorola executive, testified that even if Myart had passed the test, he would still have been rejected because of his arrest record. Under cross-examination, Mr. Piper admitted that the



Rep. Robert Mann's bills to strengthen the FEPC were condemned to defeat by the hoax.

company did not know of the arrest record at the time Myart was rejected, but that "if we were at a point of *seriously considering* the hiring of the applicant, we would have undertaken an investigation, as we have done in many cases in the past."

Another sidelight worth mentioning involves the physical presence (or rather, the *lack* of presence) of the test given Myart. During the initial hearings before Bryant, Motorola neither introduced Myart's test paper, nor introduced the personnel man who administered the test to Myart.

In its review of Bryant's order, the FEPC's decision noted:

"The test which Leon Myart took was never produced into evidence by Motorola, despite the fact that their regular policy is to keep these tests for 60 days and that they were notified of Myart's charge within 21 days after he took the test."

In its leaflet distributed to employers, Motorola explained the matter in this way: "Motorola explained that 20,000 tests are administered each year and after the tests are sent to the Personnel Testing Center where the results are recorded on IBM cards, the original tests are destroyed because their retention becomes voluminous and expensive."

The FEPC rejected Motorola's position on the test paper, and said that inasmuch as Myart achieved passing grades when the same test questions were administered by an FEPC office, the evidence was weighed in Myart's favor.

The Motorola controversy continues unabated.

A few months ago, the Illinois State Senate caved in under a propaganda barrage and refused to confirm Gov. Otto Kerner's reappointment of Gray as chairman of the FEPC.

Senate Majority Leader W. Rus-



sell Arrington (R., Evanston) grandly observed that Gray "has lost the confidence of the business community."

This was largely true, but none of the senators, Republican or Democratic, addressed themselves to the question of whether Gray's loss of prestige in the business world was justified or not.

There were some amusing bits to the ouster of Gray.

For one thing, Gov. Otto Kerner had pledged an all-out fight to get Gray confirmed by the Senate. Later, after the Senate rejection of Gray, a Democratic senator wryly paraphrased Shakespeare: "Kerner's fight to save Gray was about as effective as trying to freeze the sun by fanning it with a feather."

For another thing, Charles H. Percy, the state's titular Republican leader, came to Springfield to testify in Gray's behalf. After all, Gray was still a top executive in Percy's Bell & Howell, and Percy, a brilliant businessman, recognized Gray's administrative powers and unquestioned integrity of purpose.

However, Percy was two weeks too late since all witnesses had been heard on March 30. He never got to testify. Sen. Arrington personally prevented his party's leader from coming before the Senate committee. Gray's supporters looked upon Percy's last minute support as worthless, while the conservative Republican state leadership found in this move further proof that Percy is too liberal.

Although the arch-conservative *Chicago Tribune* had editorially urged the Senate to dump Gray, the two dailies published by Marshall Field Jr. — the *Sun-Times* and *Daily News* — had recommended that he be retained.

However, even the *Sun-Times* endorsement of Gray was a left-handed one. "It is true that the FEPC under Gray made some mistakes. The most serious was the Motorola case," the editorial said.

The *Daily News*, alone among the Chicago dailies, by this time was avoiding the old pitfalls of oversimplifying the Motorola case. This was largely due to an extensive research job by Arthur Gorlick, *Daily News* staff writer, who prepared a lengthy memorandum that became the staff's bible in handling any follow-ups of the story.

After his ouster in the Senate vote, Gray, obviously upset, remarked to reporters:

"If one company (Motorola) and

one newspaper (the *Tribune*) can do this to one citizen of Illinois, then nobody in this state is safe."

The Senate indeed acted inconsistently. It rejected Gray, but at the same time it confirmed the reappointment of two other FEPC members who had also voted against Motorola.

The truth seemed to be that Gray was rejected only because he had become a symbol of the Motorola decision; others who shared in that decision, but were not so identified in the public mind, were acceptable to the Senate.

The Illinois Legislature, smarting under the Motorola offensive against the FEPC, refused to pass any amendments strengthening the commission. A proposal by State Rep. Robert E. Mann (D. Chicago) to give the FEPC authority to initiate complaints got smacked down before it ever got off the ground.

The House passed, and the Senate rejected, a measure that would have allowed the FEPC to pay legal expenses of complainants whose charges of racial discrimination are upheld by the commission.

In other words, a Negro who gets

the door unfairly slammed in his face by an employer will have to have hundreds or thousands of dollars at his disposal in order to pay for the "right" to follow through on a complaint.

*The State of Illinois has, in effect, made it impossible for a poor man or woman to appeal to a public agency for redress of grievances.*

*The most pathetic thing about the Motorola cause, however, does not involve the injustices done to Myart.*

*The unfortunate thing — the most grievous aspect of the whole controversy — is that the concept of state arbitration of conflicts between employees and employers in the matter of human relations has been dealt a crippling setback.*

*And, again thanks to electronic marvels in this age of instant communication, the world of journalism has seen to it that the setback is national in scope.*

*D. L. Westberg, a pen name, is a Chicago writer who has closely followed the Motorola vs. Myart case. He is an advisor to various educational enterprises.*

## ARE JOB TESTS RELIABLE?

J. S. Fuerst

THE Illinois General Assembly has just passed a bill forbidding the Fair Employment Practices Commission from using "professionally developed general ability tests" given by employers as a basis for charging discrimination in hiring. Although this bill protects employers only when they use "professionally developed" tests it is doubtful that legislators have sufficiently considered the difficulties of its administration. Who will define "professionally developed," and who will be able to determine when such tests are merely camouflage for discriminatory practices?

Aside from these questions of administration, our experience as an employer over a period of time raises an even more fundamental question. Are "professionally designed general ability" tests as presently given really non-discriminatory? We are not at all sure. Those who like us have successfully used such psychological tests in hiring white office employees are

likely to be in for a bit of a shock when they apply the same techniques in hiring Negroes. They will find that a simple process has suddenly become complex.

FOR the past seven years or so, our company has relied on aptitude and intelligence tests to determine whom to hire. We have tested about 200 female stenographer-clerk and 100 male driver-clerk applicants in this time. Being skeptical by nature, we tried to second-guess the testers. But, when we filled a job with someone who had a "thumbs down" from the tester, we eventually had a "flop" at the desk. And when we hired only people who passed the tests, we almost had to invent problems to break up the boredom of too smooth a work flow. The American Management Association even reviewed our hiring methods in one of their professional publications and found them praiseworthy.

From its inception, our company has been interracial. While testing has given us a group of highly intelligent and most capable white employees, we found that we were having difficulty in finding Negroes who met our test standards. Our tests eliminated many colored applicants whom we now think may have worked out. We therefore examined and are still examining our employment procedures in testing Negroes and made some telling discoveries.

We learned, first, that testing has proved 90 per cent accurate with whites, but only 35 per cent accurate with Negroes. Aptitude tests which appear to correlate nicely with white intelligence levels as measured by performance fail when applied to Negroes. Second, while good test scores almost always indicate a good potential white employee, they tell little about how a Negro will work out. Third, we find that hesitation to hire or promote many Negroes because of poor test scores often is an injustice to both them and the employer. The test results that have been so successful with whites for us have to be regarded with reservations when applied to Negroes. The tests appear to have an anti-Negro bias — even though it's an unwitting one. While we endorse tests and successfully use them in hiring whites, we often hire Negroes regardless of test findings.

Some specific cases will document our conclusions.

A prime example of how tests can underrate a Negro's potential is the case of the best liked employee we have had, Charles A., whom we employed as a driver-clerk for about 8 years — from the time that he finished high school. Since his job was not intellectually demanding, we hired him, despite low test scores, because of outstanding personal qualities such as honesty, conscientiousness, and cooperation. For eight years, we were able to keep him by giving periodic raises. Then, when a clerical administrative job opened up, he bid for it, was re-tested, again scored low, and was offered a raise to stay where he was. Instead, he quit, took a job as an assistant sales manager with a company of about our size. Two years

later, he is doing fine there.

Obviously, we should have disregarded the test, looked at his good work record, and gambled that a good clerk-driver might make a good salesman. In reviewing his tests, however, we get a clue as to what went amiss. They show poor ability in reading and arithmetic, but evidently couldn't successfully measure his real abilities.

When Charles A. resigned, we hired Frank B. despite poor test results. In verbal tests he placed in the lowest 12 per cent of the population for clerical aptitude and was described as having difficulty in understanding written material. In non-verbal tests, which are thought to be more suited to the culturally deprived, results were even worse — which seemed almost an impossibility. The test, however, contained some interesting comments on Frank's inner dynamics. He was described as being motivated to work hard by his anxieties and self-doubts and to possess "an intuitive ability to understand a situation and single out its most important elements." We used this information to justify hiring him. Six months later, he is doing a good job. He is conscientious, willing, capable of both understanding and following through on both verbal and written instructions, is responsible, and shows considerable initiative. While his performance and test scores are obviously at variance, the tests did give the clue to his motivation which proved to be the critical factor. Had the test results been followed, he wouldn't have been hired.

On the distaff side, we hired Mary C. despite the fact that her tests showed high intelligence but poor supervisory ability — which was also desired. We used her for her office skills but she had no supervisory duties. After doing a good job for a year, she quit to join a government agency as a supervisor at considerably more than we paid her. Here she did a bang-up job and subsequently joined the staff of a foundation. On her, the tests also apparently only caught half the story.

Jane D. was hired to replace Mary C. Her test results indicate that although she is "hard working, willing to push, friendly and cordial in dealing with people . . . she may not be able to keep up intellectually with many of the people she may be working with." At this point in our experience with her, she is doing her job as the tests predicted and the fear that she couldn't keep up

with the group has proved unfounded.

In hiring several other Negroes, we found that tests failed us for different reasons. All these women tested out as having, and did have, the ability to do the job. When they worked, they were fine. Their personal problems and attitudes, however, got in the way of their performance all too often. Typical reasons for terminating them: too many days absent for frivolous reasons, preoccupation with getting a glamour job while holding down one with us half-heartedly, hostility towards other employees (which evidently also characterized their social life in their own group), continuous wage assignments with evidence of overspending, et cetera.

We have now evolved at least a temporary philosophy that seems reasonable. For those who are about to embark on hiring Negroes or those who are having troubles on this score, it may help.

Obviously, 300 years of slavery and 100 years of semi-freedom aren't calculated to bring out the values compatible with a puritan, highly industrialized society. While Negroes have the potential to perform on a par with whites, and while individual Negroes have realized this potential, they will show lower intelligence levels, on the average, when measured with tests standardized to whites. If you look only for Negroes who match the level of the white population as "measured by tests" standardized to whites, you won't find enough prospects. You will probably have to lower your test score criteria levels and look for other things. "Other things" to look for, irrespective of high or low test scores, range from a good employment record and family stability to good common sense and the motivation to achieve. You have to take greater hiring risks and gambles on promotion where you ordinarily would not. It's usually a good idea, incidentally to have more than one Negro on the staff. One Negro working alone with whites, tends to feel isolated and may not work out.

With more racial equality, better housing, and education for Negroes, the levels of achievement between white and Negro will narrow. Meanwhile, the employer would do well to take a more flexible and fairer attitude towards the Negro employee and permit him to make his way by utilizing *different* hiring and promotion yardsticks.

*J. S. Fuerst is a Chicago businessman who has written for the Journal of the American Management Association, the American City, Personnel, and others.*

# Educator<sup>®</sup> Censors Civic Fathers

Last November the St. Louis-St. Louis County White House Conference on Education made some excellent, though minimal, recommendations for the extension of technical-vocational education in this area. After six months it seems clear that very little action will be taken. If anything is done it looks as if it will be done by the federal government.

The Conference recommended that two more vocational schools such as O'Fallon Technical High School be established in the City and one in the County. I hope that we will establish at least one such school in the County, and I think the chances are good that this will be done. The City is another matter. Here, where the need is greatest, the outlook for the foreseeable future seems bleak. The O'Fallon School is an excellent school with excellent leadership and high morale. But it is terribly overcrowded and its faculty bears a very heavy load. The new St. Louis school tax increase, which had to be submitted twice to the voters and was passed only after a strenuous effort by school officials, will provide funds for a few classes in business education and home economics and that is all. The new levy in fact does not come close to providing the money the City schools really need. It was designed not to provide excellent schools but to keep the ship afloat. And minimal as it is, the educational leaders in St. Louis have been worried for a year that it would not pass. City school officials have appealed in vain to the state for assistance. Missouri doesn't support any of its schools very well and it treats St. Louis shabbily.

I feel very sorry for the young men and women in St. Louis who are being sent into the adult world with a minimal academic training and without job skills. They will be helpless in modern America. I feel, too, for the dedicated teachers and administrators in St. Louis who have worked and will continue to work without adequate resources against hopeless educational odds. But I do not feel sorry for St. Louis. It is the wealthiest City in the state. But that wealth has not been used to educate the children of the City. I remember

an occasion a few years ago when a school board member from St. Louis went to the Mayor and the Comptroller and hesitantly asked whether it might be possible for the schools to get part of their revenue from the earnings tax. The answer was, of course, that this was unthinkable — unthinkable that a city would use its wealth to educate its children.

*The truth is that the top political and business and professional men in St. Louis have not been and are not now concerned about the public schools — they send their children to private schools. They have moved energetically to build a great arch, a new sports stadium, and plush high rise-apartments. I hope they are able to enjoy them in peace. Because in the heart of the City there are thousands of young men, who, because of the miserly support we give our schools, are growing up poorly educated and vocationally unskilled. It is unrealistic to expect these young men to accept their fate like sheep — not when they see affluence all around them. St. Louis is in trouble now and the situation is going to get worse. In this critical situation the new administration is concentrating its energies on efficiency and economy in the city government. . .*

So far as the state is concerned, the White House Conference recommended that Missouri increase its financial support substantially and take the lead in establishing vocational-technical schools all over the state. The Conference Report documented what many of us know: that despite its wealth Missouri is one of the most backward states in the nation in terms of its willingness to support education of all kinds. And vocational education has been virtually neglected. What has been done in the field has been done by the local districts and the federal government.

Some weeks ago a group of Conference leaders met with Warren E. Hearnes, Governor of Missouri, and spoke with him about the desperate needs which had been exposed by the Conference Report. The Governor was sympathetic but, he said, there

was nothing he could do — there was no provision in the budget, we have to be fiscally responsible, etc., etc. The Governor had run for office on the platform: no increase in taxes. If Missouri were one of the top states in the nation in terms of providing education or public services generally, this position would be understandable. Considering the way the state actually supports its public services this position is unbelievable — except in terms of political expediency.

But this penurious way of thinking is traditional in Missouri. Last January, for example, former Governor John M. Dalton in his farewell speech was particularly proud of the fact that he had not only balanced the budget but had left a surplus in the state treasury. The next day there was a fire at the St. Louis State Hospital for the chronically and mentally ill. The photographs showed the conditions under which these helpless human beings lived and were being treated — in rows of beds lined up in the style of a World War I army barracks. Then a couple of months ago a series of articles appeared in a St. Louis newspaper on the state training school for severely emotionally retarded children in St. Louis County. The picture was a grim one: lack of trained faculty, attendants being paid \$216 per month, children with nondescript clothing. Missouri may not do much for its children, especially those who cannot help themselves, but it is fiscally responsible!

The problem in St. Louis and in Missouri is that precious little leadership has come from its educational and political "leaders." This is partly because we in education have preached the notion that educators should stay out of politics. The result has been that we have not been involved when the important political decisions, especially those concerning the budget, have been made. So we limp along with the inadequate resources which any fool could predict that we would get from our obsolete financial arrangements. And our political leaders couldn't care less. After all, education is not their problem.

## Raymond E. Callahan

Fortunately for the country and its children not all of our political leaders take this view. President Johnson has provided vigorous leadership and the result is that for the first time we will have some resources which will enable us at least to begin to work on the educational problems in the inner city. In a way this is ironic because for decades we have been proudly proclaiming to all who would listen that education in America is a state and local responsibility and that we want no part of federal aid. But our proclamations have not been followed by action and it is a good thing for public education that Lyndon Johnson is president. In fact our neglect has gone so far that political leaders in St. Louis and Missouri, instead of confronting their problems squarely and responsibly and fighting for increased taxes to provide the essential services, are looking to Washington for help. Of course, some local communities and some states do not have the resources to provide for adequate (to say nothing of excellent) educational services. But St. Louis is not such a community and Missouri is not such a state. Instead of standing around bemoaning the increasing role of the federal government in education, we should start taxing ourselves and getting the job done. Then there would be no need for federal aid.

**T**HAT the job can be done through vigorous action at the state level has been amply demonstrated by former Governor Terry Sanford of North Carolina. Under his leadership a state-wide system of twenty industrial education centers has been established. These schools provide a range of programs, including some for young persons who are not high school graduates. In 1962-63 there were 35,000 students enrolled at these centers. By 1968 it is expected the enrollment will exceed that in the State's twelve four-year colleges. And this in a state much poorer than Missouri. North Carolina is 43rd among the fifty states in per capita income. Missouri is 11th. North Carolina is 11th among the states in state

dollars spent per pupil. Missouri is 33rd.

But Terry Sanford did more than establish vocational-technical centers. He saw clearly that education was the most important element in a democratic, highly industrialized society. He saw, too, that education was a *state* responsibility and he took the position that the governor of a state had a responsibility to provide leadership in this field. He made education the major issue in his successful campaign for office. He had the courage to tell the people of North Carolina the truth: if they wanted better schools they would have to pay for them through increased taxes. Sanford *was* elected to office. Taxes *were* raised. And new schools, including vocational schools, *were* provided.

And Governor Sanford did even more than show that the people would respond even to the extent of raising taxes. Here was a man who led in the establishment of a state-wide school for the performing arts. He worked to establish a center of educational research and evaluation. He had the foresight to go to the Ford Foundation (he was the first governor to do so) and he got a \$2,000,000 grant for North Carolina.

By contrast the record of leadership in education in St. Louis and Missouri has been a dismal one. Our leaders have hitched their political fortunes to a philosophy of economy. Their appeal is to the smallness and self-interest in men, not to their greatness. When they do recommend programs they are minimal, designed to give the impression that great strides are being taken. The ironic part of this approach is that it is supposed to attract industry through a low tax rate, but industry needs educated and skilled manpower more than it needs lower taxes. The value to the community of trained, skilled manpower is one side of the coin; the high cost of supporting the untrained indigent and his dependents is the other. He could have been educated for less! So forgetting about the most important aspect of the situation, which is the human one — the dreadful human misery which results from ignorance and lack of economic opportunity — this policy

doesn't even make sense on economic grounds. The truth is that through our parsimonious neglect of our schools we will lag farther and farther behind the rest of the country. And our young men and women from the poverty belt who are powerless to help themselves will suffer most of all. But when their despair breaks out into crime, they will make others suffer, too.

How long will it take for our civic and educational leaders in this state to realize that in an increasingly education-centered society we are grievously neglecting the education of a large percentage of our children. Why not provide our children with an *excellent* education? Really good schools require more than just money, but money is the *sine qua non*. To get the money we need, it will be necessary to change our sources of revenue from the property tax to the withholding income tax. And we will need to take the power to decide what amount of money we will spend on education out of the hands of the voters, and to put it into the hands of our elected representatives where it belongs. I have said many times that if we allowed the voters in local districts all over the country to decide how much money we would spend on defense, the Russian troops would have to be in New Jersey before we would vote the money we needed. Nobody likes to pay taxes, but there is no other way. We should tax ourselves to provide every child with an excellent education because it is morally right, because it is socially necessary, and because it is in the economic interest of the state to do so. But to do the job we are going to need vigorous leadership of the kind Terry Sanford provided in North Carolina. How long will it take us to get that kind of leadership in Missouri?

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*Raymond E. Callahan is professor of education at the Graduate Institute of Education, Washington University. The article is adapted from an address to the 1965 White House Conference.*

# Jefferson Citians Smart Under Weldon Press

Byron G. Lander

**J**EFFERSON City, the capital of Missouri, has two newspapers. Both are owned by Mrs. William H. Weldon and her husband and both adhere to rather unusual policies for 20th-century America. The Weldon's control the morning *Daily Capital News* and the afternoon *Jefferson City Post-Tribune*; the city's only television channel, KRCC-TV, Channel 13; and one of Jefferson City's two radio stations, KWOS.

Labor strikes in the capital of Missouri are not covered.

A large state-wide civil rights march on Jefferson City in 1963 was not covered.

Until this year, the society page generally ignored social events of the wives of Democratic governors and Democratic women's clubs.

Only since 1961 have the newspapers had a full-time reporter covering the state legislature. Previously, the newspapers relied primarily on the Associated Press wire service to cover legislative activities taking place only a few blocks from their office.

The papers present a host of arch-conservative columnists, but not one middle-of-the-road point of view.

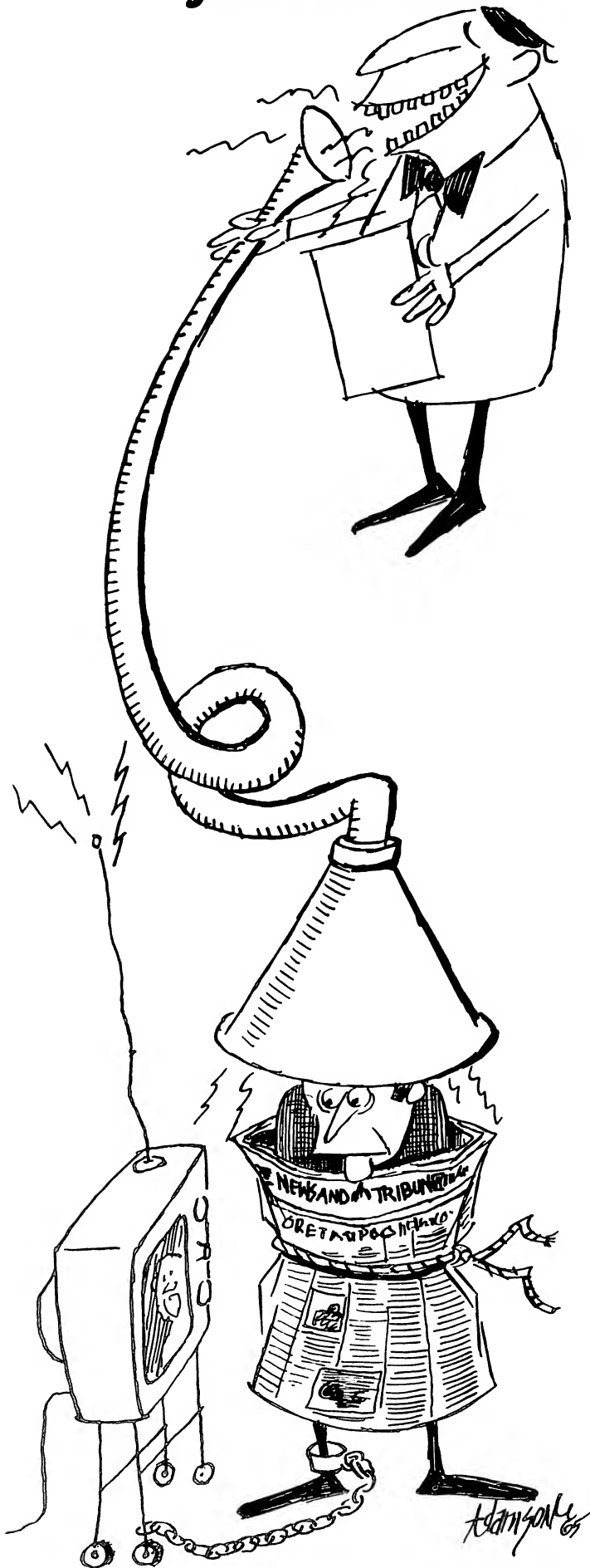
Frequently, it is difficult to distinguish where the news ends and the editorials begin.

The family-owned news empire followed a Republican course under the control of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Goshorn. Upon the death of Mrs. Goshorn in 1959, the virtual monopoly passed to her daughter, Mrs. Weldon. The present ownership is pragmatic enough to support Governor Warren E. Hearnes and some local bond issues, but the primary tone of the news media is a one-sided interpretation of domestic and foreign affairs. (Mrs. Hearnes has even made the society pages repeatedly.)

In the two Jefferson City newspapers the owners' political orientation permeates the editorials, the news, the society columns, and advertising. On the editorial page contributing writers include such well-known columnists as Russell Kirk, David Lawrence, Morrie Ryskin, Walter Trohan of the *Chicago Tribune* Press Service, and Ted Lewis of the *New York News*. There are no contributions by less conservative writers to balance the views expounded. Typical of the contributions is one by Dr. Fernando Penabaz employee of Billy James Hargis' Christian Crusade, entitled "What Sen. Dirksen Didn't Know" published in the evening and the morning newspapers. This article criticized Senator Everett Dirksen for his rejection of the claim that "Communists and their fellow-travelers were sparking the Civil Rights marches and disturbances in Mississippi and Alabama." Penabaz declares:

Almost without exception, every one of the so-called professional "Civil Rights" movements in the United States harbor or are influenced by either Communist Party liners or Castro-worshipping fanatics. It is high time that not only the good Illinois Senator woke up but that also all other slumbering Americans do likewise.

Locally written editorials are often similar in nature to these contributors. Two days before the 1964 presidential election, the Sunday paper contained a front page editorial:





Tuesday the American people face a momentous, grave and clear-cut decision. They will go to the polls to determine whether this nation grows and prospers as a Republic with Barry Goldwater and William Miller or whether it dies as a socialist state under Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey . . . It will be a vote for freedom and against socialism and the deterioration of our American way of life.

The editorial page also includes a *Chicago Tribune* cartoon and readers are informed: "This Republic is YOURS. Let's keep it that way." The capitalized term "Republic" is used in preference to "democracy," akin to the policy of the arch-conservatives.

UNFORTUNATELY, the obvious political viewpoint of the Jefferson City newspapers spills over to the front pages. The news pages, particularly page one, make extensive use of the *Chicago Tribune Press Service*, which is used on most major stories from Washington, D.C. rather than the Associated Press. A daily front page column from Washington by Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott reinforces the very conservative orientation of the first page.

Even advertisements have political messages. Recently, the Weldon papers ran a full page advertisement placed by the Space Age Printing Company of Kirkwood, Missouri, promoting the so-called Liberty Amendment which would abolish "the Socialistic Sixteenth — A National Cancer," i.e. the income tax.

The one-sided orientation is promoted further by television and radio coverage. The Weldon-owned radio station broadcasts Fulton Lewis, Jr. five times a week from 6 to 6:15. The Manion Forum and Dan Smoot are presented at the prime time of 6:15 to 6:30 on Channel 13. Dan Smoot is sponsored by the Weldon-owned Jefferson City morning newspaper. Viewers are told that if they enjoy Dan Smoot, they will like the *Daily Capital News* and are offered a free one-week subscription to the paper. On the three remaining week days at this time a local program called Sound Off is presented in which viewers' letters are read. Most of the politically oriented letters are strongly conservative.

A monthly program on communism prepared by the Missouri branch of the Veterans of Foreign Wars is also presented on the Jefferson City television channel. One program was chaired by a commissioner on the Missouri Supreme Court. He criticized the April 16 demonstration of 20,000 people against the United States policy in Viet Nam sponsored by the anti-Communist Students for a Democratic Society. He asked why the newspapers "don't tell us about the people involved" in the demonstrations. The commissioner stated that he had never seen such a group of "degenerates" and "kooks." He described the men as wearing long beards and claimed that all the marchers looked "abnormal in some respect."

Editorials in the Jefferson City papers on the protest demonstration attempted to associate it with communism though never calling the demonstrators Communists:

Not surprisingly, one of the main endorsers of the "peace march" is the Communist Party, USA. Theme of the SDS Easter march is "to end the war in Viet Nam." It is also the Communists number one goal for 1965.

Then, a few days after the television program: "The Communists, who happily promoted the march, were much in evidence at the gathering." The only authority cited for this statement was *Human Events*, the rightist weekly.

Until recently many opponents did not take the Weldon enterprise seriously. Their attacks on urban renewal and academic freedom indicate that this may be a serious error.

Matching the vituperations of the extreme rightists, the Weldon's can claim credit for defeating an urban renewal project. At the height of the debate the Weldon newspapers declared:

. . . the Urban Renewal debate in Jefferson City is a small replica of the world wide ideological struggle between the philosophy of free enterprise, private property, limited government and the forces of statism (communism, fascism, welfare-statism — call it what you please) . . . The plan is as communalistic as the most dedicated Soviet commissar would desire.

This excerpt appeared in an article published alongside the legal text of the urban renewal project. The city council unanimously rejected the project. Ted Heron, executive director of the City's Housing Authority, accused the *News-Tribune* of slanting the news and also challenged the fairness of a so-called straw pool printed in the paper and used to pressure the City Council.

Another renewal proposal for downtown Jefferson City will soon come before the City Council.

DURING the past year an attack on academic freedom at the University of Missouri in Columbia has been intensified by the newspapers. The most recent campaign was stimulated by a program which Channel 13 was required to televise to meet Federal Communication Commission regulations of allowing equal time to reply to opinions on controversial subjects. Anti-foreign aid statements made on the Manion Forum were answered by the Columbia unit of the Socialist Party of America. The party of Eugene Debs and Norman Thomas was represented by William S. Allen, assistant professor of history at the University of Missouri. He declared that economic foreign aid supervised under the United Nations would reduce poverty and hunger in the world and make democracy possible in developing countries. In response the Jefferson City paper editorialized that Channel 13 was "forced" by FCC regulations to put this "Socialism-Peddling Prof" on the air: "Doesn't this peddler of socialism know that Communists are Socialists? The USSR is the abbreviation for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

In February 1965, the Jefferson City papers carried a three-part, front page series attacking faculty members at the University. (This series was reprinted in full in the *Rolla Daily News*.) The headlines tell the story: "About 15 MU Faculty Members Alleged to be Active Socialists," "Socialist Groups at Missouri U. Involved in a Variety of Activities," and "Alleged Teaching of Foreign Isms has Continued to Draw Criticism." The series contained mis-statements, contradictions, prejudicial adjectives, and an underlying assumption which appeared to indicate that socialism and communism were similar. Later University President Elmer Ellis said there was only one self-proclaimed Socialist on the university faculty and that "many of Dr. Allen's students had advised the university that Dr. Allen does not present propaganda to his classes."

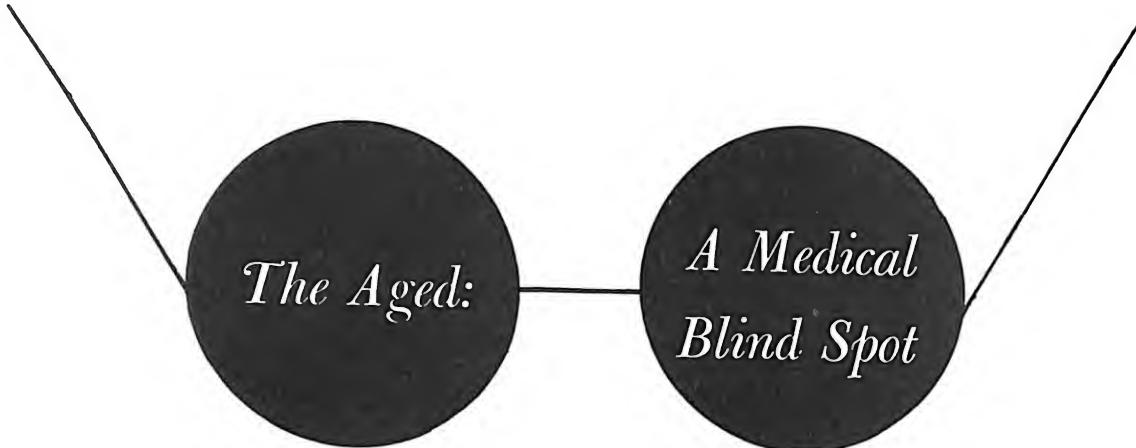
A follow-up editorial requested an investigation by the Missouri General Assembly.

Byron G. Lander is working for his Ph. D. in Political Science at the University of Missouri.

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*The Aged:*

*A Medical  
Blind Spot*

H. T. Blumenthal

**T**HE full potential of Medicare, the federal program for the aged, can only be realized if doctors reexamine and change their approach to treating the elderly.

Medical schools, almost without exception, have steadfastly held the view that there is little, if anything, distinctive about the medical problems of the aged, and have not found it necessary to provide courses in geriatric medicine for medical students. In a very few instances, Schools of Public Health are just now beginning to recognize the special problems of the aged and to provide training and establish research programs in aging. None of the three major universities in Missouri have a School of Public Health.

Much of the research on aging is being carried out by individual scientists, and in only a few places in the United States do large group programs exist. The attitude of medical educators creates a difficult problem since medical school and university hospital programs provide the "image" to which private hospitals seek to conform.

The negative attitude of medical educators and practicing physicians derives from an objection to the es-

tablishment of geriatrics as a specialty in the medical care of the elderly. While there may be valid reasons for such a view, there is also abundant evidence indicating that long-term chronic diseases are most prevalent among the elderly, and may differ in a variety of ways when they occur in older than in younger people. Yet hospital and clinic facilities remain primarily oriented towards acute illnesses, and, with a few exceptions, even those relatively few hospitals which have departments of physical medicine and rehabilitation are not geared primarily to cope with the disabilities and infirmities of the aged.

The medical goals in respect to aging are to provide for the immediate sociological and health needs of the elderly and to learn more through research about those diseases which have their greatest prevalence among the aged. While this may move us closer towards a realization of the potential life span of man, it can only be accomplished by the extension of knowledge concerning the basic biology of aging.

**F**OR about the past twenty-five years the number of elderly people

in our society has been increasing rapidly. In 1960 there were about 16 million people 65 years of age and older in the United States and it is estimated that by 1980 the figure will reach nearly 25 million. Their number increases daily by about 1000. While our population has about doubled since 1900, the number of elderly people has increased almost sixfold. Moreover, the present population explosion will be reflected in an even greater proportionate increase in old people during the early decades of the twenty-first century.

The major medical problems are now those of the so-called degenerative diseases associated with old age. While more people now live longer, medical science has not really added years to the far end of the life scale. Only a very small percentage of people lived to the age of 90 or 100 in Grecian society of 2000 years ago, and this is still true today.

Gerontology, the science concerned with the study of aging, involves biology, medicine, psychology, and sociology. Studies in gerontology are not limited to observations on the elderly, but ideally include early and middle life in order to discover influences present during these periods

which may contribute to an acceleration of aging effects.

The problems of the aged are many and complex. Even the so-called well-aged develop physical and psychological disabilities in some degree. While such handicaps may not constitute definitive disease states, they nevertheless limit activities. Moreover, because of the ever increasing proportion of older people among their patients, physicians are encountering more cases of hardening of the arteries which leads to heart attacks, strokes, and related conditions, and more individuals with cancer, diabetes, arthritis, and other so-called degenerative diseases which are most prevalent among the elderly.

Sociological and economic problems are equally important. The number of elderly is increasing at a more rapid rate than employment opportunities for them can be found. While some are being retired for reasons of health, many physically and mentally able old people are re-

tired on a compulsory basis — at a time when their experience, skill, and sagacity could well be utilized. With such retirement comes a reduced income, and as already noted, at a time in life when there is an increased need for medical and hospital care.

All too often the easiest solution is employed, and these persons are institutionalized and isolated from society. Yet sociological studies have shown that most elderly people, as long as they are physically able, prefer private, independent living arrangements, although these may have to be modified to provide for their physical limitations. Moreover, many elderly people are capable of being retrained, remain interested in continuing education in the arts and sciences, and desire to remain as useful and productive members of their community.

**T**HE multidisciplinary characteristic in the study of problems con-

fronting old people is reflected in a variety of federally supported program and activities initiated during the past several years.

While these are impressive, additional programs are being formed. One is the creation of a cabinet department of urban affairs. Such a department would have to concern itself with problems of the elderly since about 70 per cent of our society now lives in urban communities.

For the most part the philosophy of federal support has been to provide funds for the development of programs at the state and local levels. Such implementation varies considerably from state to state, because frequently local authorities fail to recognize the problems. Missouri provides a case in point. It has not enacted the Kerr-Mills legislation to provide health care to non-welfare recipients and more extended care to others. Nor is there a provision through legislation at any level of government for the older person with

## JEFFERSON CITIANS SMART UNDER WELDON PRESS

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Within a month after these articles appeared, they were used as the basis for pressuring University President Elmer Ellis at the House Appropriation Committee in March 1965. Representative Howard Garrett (Dem. Festus) asked President Ellis when the University intended to fire Dr. Allen. Reference was made to the articles published by the Jefferson City and Rolla newspapers. Dr. Ellis replied that Prof. Allen does his job and read a prepared statement pointing out that the stories contained "numerous errors of fact and fail to state a number of facts which are relevant and important." Dr. Ellis concluded: "it is worth noting that to date no other newspaper in the state has considered these stories worthy of any notice or comment." A resolution by the University Board of Curators and editorials in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and the *Kansas City Times* supported Dr. Ellis' statement. The *Times* noted:

Nobody who is in touch with reality would intimate that the Columbia campus is overrun with subversives, spies and Communists. Yet it is disappointing that any hysteria along these lines could be generated at all in the legislature. If a man cannot teach, or hold a job, simply because he supports an unpopular—but entirely legal—cause, then freedom is in danger.

On April 8, Representative Ronald Belt, the Republican floor leader, and fifteen co-sponsors, nine Democrats and six Republicans, introduced a Joint House Resolution for establishing a "joint fact finding committee on communistic and socialistic activities" in Missouri. Rep. Belt, according to the Jefferson City papers, said:

We have become more and more concerned about the increase in activity of subversive groups in the State. In particular, we are concerned with the open activities of organized groups such as the DuBois Society and the New Fabian Society in our state colleges and universities.

The *Post-Dispatch* editorialized that the signers of the resolution "are going off half-cocked." The resolution was

referred to committee.

The Jefferson City papers which had urged such an investigation editorialized that the resolution "should receive the whole-hearted support of the Missouri General Assembly."

**I**T is evident that the Weldon news chain presents only one side of most political events to its capital city readers. Members of the state legislature are exposed to this news interpretation throughout the legislative session. Other readers must suffer through it the year round. Their philosophy is only partially balanced by more objective newspapers in Kansas City, St. Louis, and other communities.

Opposition to the Weldon news empire seems to have increased during the last months. A new urban renewal plan will be submitted. President Ellis and the University Board of Curators have endorsed academic freedom. A \$750,000 libel suit has been filed against William H. Weldon, the News Tribune Company and Jefferson Television Company by Dean Lupkey, who has been representing the Jefferson City Cable TV Company in attempting to bring community antenna television to Jefferson City.

Of course, no one can argue that the Weldons are not entitled to use their outlets as they see fit. But all, Democrats and Republicans alike, must worry that for many the Weldon news media are the vistas through which they see all events, local and international. A stranglehold on information is bad, whether it is exercised by a government or by private institutions.

marginal income who cannot afford prolonged private hospital care.

Missouri has also failed to enact legislation in respect to the 1962 Public Welfare Amendments which would provide some very basic and necessary services through the county welfare offices. The cost of such services would be provided on a 75-25 per cent federal to state ratio. Missouri's system of welfare payments is organized around the concept of payment for "bedfastness;" that is, it will provide an increased payment for people who are completely bedfast, but offers no incentive to nursing homes for the improvement of rehabilitation services which would accomplish a return of many patients to useful community activity. Some states offer such support for the improvement of rehabilitative care. Furthermore, Missouri's system contains no provision for services in private homes where they are often needed and are most effective. Because of this failure there is often no alternative to institutional care, particularly when the family is unable to pay for private services. The result is often low-quality care and an increased burden on supporting institutional programs.

For those elderly persons who are able to move about in the community, Old Age Assistance in Missouri provides a maximum payment of \$70 per month. This provides far less than a minimum level of subsistence. Many elderly persons, therefore, are forced into unsatisfactory living arrangements, with hazards to health and well-being.

Today, the initiative and much of the leadership for attaining these goals appears to reside in the federal government. But we shall not succeed in these goals unless there is an increased awareness of the particular problems of the aged by organized medicine, medical educators, legislators, and a considerable segment of the public-at-large.

*Herman T. Blumenthal is director of the Clinical Research Program on Aging at the Veterans Administration Hospital, Jefferson Barracks, and gerontology research associate in the Graduate School (Department of Psychology) of Washington University, St. Louis. Dr. Blumenthal's views in this article are his own and are not intended, in any way, to reflect the views of the Veterans Administration.*

## **Radio, A Wasteland By FCC Order**

**Lorenzo W. Milam**

*The Federal Communications Commission recently awarded a construction permit for a commercial FM radio station to the segregationist Christian Fundamental Church (Evangelical) of St. Louis. Also competing for the channel were Lorenzo W. Milam and Jeremy D. Lansmen. The two are now appealing the initial decision. Milam operates radio station KRAB in Seattle, Washington, and Lansman is a former St. Louisan. KRAB is supported by its listeners and offers diversified fare in music, poetry, discussions, interviews, and other creative and controversial programs.*

*While the hearing examiner's decision is proper in terms of the admissible hearing criteria, it should be noted that the hearings and the examiner ignored two important elements: the programming and the past performance of the applicants.*

*To the outsider, the FCC examiner chose a program which is narrow, limited, with an obvious denominational purpose rather than one which is broad, creative, and non-sectarian. We were curious how the proceedings could have come up with this decision and asked Mr. Milam for his views.*

**A** long time before we became involved in this endless hearing, we wrote an article for a local magazine on the art of broadcasting. Part of that article went as follows:

*"When Bradley wrote about the tragedies of Shakespeare, he felt that the tragic force lay in the enormous waste: that some man-king-noble such as Hamlet or Lear would have to be destroyed in order to set the universe right again. It is only somewhat less tragic that the communication media in this country should be such a waste — an extraordinarily complex and fine method of reaching a mass audience dedicated to the principle only of entertainment, only of diversion.*

*"Think of it: in the whole of the United States, there are some 700 television stations, some 5000 broadcast stations. And we hear the same in every city. The Beatles in Boston and Seattle, Arthur Godfrey in New York and Yakima, The Singing Nun in Philadelphia and Everett, Fabian in Charlotte and Chicago and Denver and Tacoma. We know that there is so much special going on in each of these cities — and we wonder why we are not allowed to hear the thousand voices of a thousand cities — sociologists from Chicago, blues singers from Atlanta, jazz musicians from New York, political cranks from Washington, poets from San Francisco, contemporary musicians from Boston.*

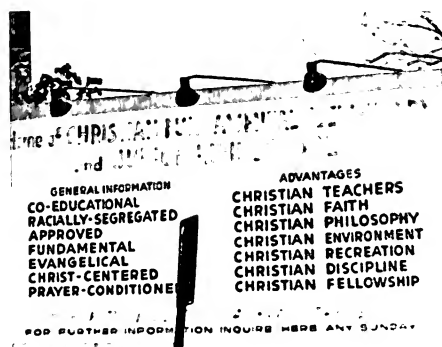
*"There is a price for the sameness that litters our radio dial — it is the loss of potentiality, the waste, when an unusual idea, or a rare poem, or a strange piece of music is not communicated. It is the waste of saying that the finances of the broadcast station owner are more important than the communication of the richness of ideas the human mind is capable of producing."*

When it came time to put together the material for our hearing, we quite

naturally included this article, for we felt that the hearing would be an excellent chance to reveal our philosophy of the art of radio, and, indeed, we thought that we would be *compelled* to state our beliefs. But at the time that we tried to introduce it formally into the record, the Hearing Examiner said something to the effect that "You are not going to have Bradley and Shakespeare come testify, are you?" and it was eliminated from the record.

We are appealing for a review of the written and spoken testimony in this hearing; we probably would not dispute the decision of the Hearing Examiner if he had taken into consideration the enormously complex questions of the parties' broadcasting philosophies, the racial prejudices, the duplication of existing program service, the way we have operated KRAB in Seattle, and the ultimate ambitions of the applicants. It would be foolish for us to do more than hint at them here: what we ask is that the record be reviewed and that the Commission look at the record so that it may implement its statements about public interest responsibilities of broadcasters.

Since we have so recently gone through the hearing, and since it has left such a scar on our minds — even before the initial decision was handed down — we should like to humbly suggest some radical changes in the whole hearing process itself that may be required to make it possible for potential broadcasters to reveal their motives more completely, and so that the decision will adequately treat the true capabilities of the applicants. For sometimes, indeed, we concluded during the hearing, that there was a gigantic drudgery which ultimately obscured facts, rather than



Sign on site of Church boasting of racial segregation. The words "racially-segregated" were recently deleted. revealed them.

Kirkegaard suggested that it is not the concerns of men's souls that make religion; rather, it is the obsessions of their daily lives. Those of us who are obsessed with broadcasting, who worry about the art and the philosophy of it, who deplore the crassness and waste of it, these people tend to get lost in the machinery of broadcasting; it becomes their religion. It is our natural assumption that the Federal Communications Commission is also obsessed with broadcasting, and the greatest shock comes when one finds out that the hearing examiners and lawyers and engineers and possibly the Commission itself has another religion: that of contours separated by a hair and membership in the Kiwanis and NCSAs and objections and overrulings and white areas and birthplace and residency. We sat in a huge bare room in Washington, D.C., and three attorneys, five clients, three engineers, a hearing examiner and a stenographer participated in the giving away of a potential broadcast service in a city a thousand miles away. And during

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the questions about whether we had worn beards or whether our opponent had racially segregated its church and schools, during the objections and the off-the-record discussions, during the questions about the 'Tots to Teens' Program or the questions about private detectives, during all this period we could not help but think that someone had been forgotten.

The person who was forgotten, was that person who a year or two years or five years from now will be listening to that frequency in St. Louis. Make no mistake, the Examiner did not forget that person as one of two million people who will be served by a new signal. By no means: what he did do was to forget the mind of that individual.

Perhaps it is the fault of the process — the religion which took possession of all our thoughts and words. St. Louis did not know that we were dickering over *their* frequency — and that they would be stuck with a broadcaster for eternity that won that hearing. The man who is going to love or who is going to hate that station at 102.5 MC in St. Louis had little opportunity to know that we were fighting over him and his ear and his mind. What a pity.

And that man, who listens to the radio: he did not know that while we were fighting over his mind and ear, we had to ignore all the other broadcast stations that he has access to. We were arguing in a vacuum: as if there was no other broadcast service in St. Louis. We ended up pretending in that hearing that our two were the only services proposed for St. Louis, and as to the fact that there were four other religious stations and the fact that there were no other *good* classical music and discussion stations in the area: it meant nothing.

We found out later that if we had asked, we might have had the hearing moved to St. Louis and probably have asked that the question of existing services be included in the hearing as well. If this Initial Decision is affirmed, then it should be the function of the FCC to force involvement of the city itself in the hearing, and to force consideration of other broadcast services. For the decision does not reflect public need.

THE present hearing system is a strange Kafka-like thing, with strange shifting values and weird, other-world unreality. The countless details that are sifted through should add up to some meaningful whole, but to us

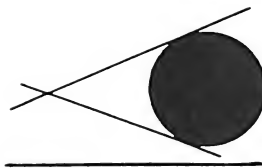
seem to add up to some meaningless nothing.

If we cannot get away from the flat quantitative decision and realize a result based on program quality, we may have to suggest that new rules be adopted incorporating the following requirements for the hearing process:

- (1) That the hearing be held without exception in the city that is to benefit by the added service. The hearing would be well-advertised, and held in spacious rooms. Placards, billboards, leaflets, and newspaper and radio advertisements would tell about the hearing weeks before it is to take place. Local radio and television stations would be encouraged to cover the event. The whole city would get the feeling that this is their frequency that is being struggled over, and that they are the ultimate benefactors or losers. Everything possible would be done to get local participation.
- (2) That the direct written case for each side be short — perhaps ten or twenty pages. It would be printed up in large quantities a month before the hearing, and distributed to the local newspapers, libraries, schools, and newsstands. Copies would be available to all who want them.
- (3) That for the hearing itself, each applicant would be required to make up a two or four hour tape which will be a sample of a day's broadcasting on his proposed station. This tape would become part of the hearing record. The tape would include types of music to be played, samples of talks and discussions, examples of public service broadcasts and commercials, and samples of proposed news coverage. It would be played during the hearing.
- (4) That a committee of local broadcasters would be required to submit to the hearing examiner a list of the existing radio and television stations serving the community, with a brief summary of the type of programming carried by each. This would be compared to the proposed programming of each applicant as outlined in the direct written case and the taped samples of the proposed broadcast day. Local broadcasters would testify as expert witnesses if, in their opinion, the proposed broadcasting would duplicate any existing service.
- (5) That the applicants for both sides would be allowed to examine each other directly. Following outlined rules or order, and with the guidance of the hearing examiner only, each side would be allowed to question the other side directly for an hour or two. In this way, many questions that lawyers may avoid for one reason or another would be touched upon, and the examiner and the audience would be able to see the orientation of the applicants, both in the questions propounded and the answers given.
- (6) That there be a local panel of personages — perhaps a doctor, an educator, and a minister, with the acknowledged respect of the community — who would participate in the hearing. They would be able to propound questions themselves at any time during the hearing; and the final decision would not be made without their advice and consent.
- (7) That in his final decision, the Hearing Examiner be required to consider not only questions of local residency, experience, local contacts, and engineering in the application, but also broadcast philosophy, general broadcast knowledge, and evidence of local sentiment in the grant.

We realize that this change in the hearing procedure would be radical and controversial, but if there is no other way to avoid mechanical decisions based on mileages and hours and percentages, rather than animate needs, tastes and desires, we cannot see it possible for the terrible morass of the present hearing procedure to be rectified.





## A Midwestern View

### *Timely Social Documents / Harry T. Moore*

LIBERAL dissatisfaction with the present state of politics is often the dissatisfaction of liberals with one another. Most of them want reforms, but they can't all get together on methods. Now, *House Out of Order* (Dutton, \$4.95, 253 pp.), by Richard Bolling, makes a distinctly valuable contribution to the discussion and offers a good many sound suggestions for improvement.

As most of our readers will know, Richard Bolling is a Democratic Representative from Missouri; though still young, he is a veteran of eight terms in Congress. He was an admirer and protege of the late Sam Rayburn. And many of his proposals have to do with improving the lot of the Speaker of the House, whose role has been limited since George Norris paved the way for the curtailment of the Speaker's powers when he led a revolt against "Uncle Joe" Cannon in 1910. Mr. Bolling looks back to the days of great leadership by Henry Clay, first regarded as "the president's man," but proved to be one who exercised a fierce independence and who was in no way in the pocket of James Madison or his successors in the White House. Today, however, when the Speaker cannot appoint committees, his function is atrophied. Mr. Bolling says: "The personal influence the Speaker may wield by means of bartering favors does not compensate for adequate legitimate authority." The House, particularly with a minority of Southern Congressmen controlling committees, too often ignores the will of the people or of party philosophy — it not often, in the truest sense, is representative. Mr. Bolling has much else to say, giving specific examples and naming names. He discusses the press, the lobbies, civil rights, and other matters, always with the authority of one speaking from the inside, and of one who is concerned. In his chapter "The Road to Reform," he lists a number of changes he believes necessary for

improvement of conditions, many of them concerned with the function of the Speaker, who should be responsible for carrying out the programs on the basis of which the majority was elected. Mr. Bolling quotes the 1964 Democratic platform: "The Congress of the United States should revise its rules and procedures to assure majority rule after reasonable debate and to guarantee that major legislative proposals of the President can be brought to a vote after reasonable consideration in committee." The Republicans had no plank of this kind, but the winning party had — and what has been done about it? "The failure of the House is the failure of the Democratic party of which I am a member. Its responsibility cannot be evaded much longer without reducing the national assembly to impotence, which would mean a vital failure in the democratic process itself." Most of us think of the House as a bunch of delaying squabblers — when a quorum can be assembled — and as a generally inferior breed of politicians; that is, despite the opulent salaries they've voted themselves, they don't as a group attract the best type of citizen. There are numerous exceptions to this, Mr. Bolling being one of them, a really outstanding man in any capacity. His thoughtful book should be widely read and considered — it is often Cassandrian in its note of doom, but it is a book of hope, too, with a sensible program.

Another Missourian, William B. Milius, has also written a volume about governmental improvement. A one-time Clayton alderman, Mr. Milius was an early booster of John F. Kennedy for President, and he held some position during the Kennedy administration. A political scientist by training (Washington University) and a veteran of the Korean embarrassment, Mr. Milius has given much thought to our structure of government and has come up with the idea that instead of seeing Ameri-

can politics in terms of liberal and conservative, we should view them between the "self-interest" and the "moral" parties. He deals with this idea extensively, showing how even the finest of our politicians who are on the moral side often have to make deals with the self-interest people. He utters some trenchant truths, but has no blueprint for action such as Congressman Bolling presented in the previously discussed book. Carrying Mr. Milius's ideas into the realm of practicality, one would ask why such Republican members of the moral faction, such as Senator Clifford Case, don't join the party of Paul Douglas, and why those reactionary Southern senators don't switch to the Republican group, as Strom Thurmond did? If this happened, we could have cleaner-cut divisions in Congressional voting, but the idea probably wouldn't work on a large scale, for the most part because neither the moral nor the self-interest members would want things changed. As matters stand, a Western senator who needs Southern votes for a proposed dam in his state can give the Southerners his vote on some key issues in exchange for their support of his project — and vice-versa. The boys just want it that way. Meanwhile, Mr. Milius has written a morally absorbing book, and I don't mean to reduce its value by a display of cynicism, based simply on the way things are; we owe his book a reading.

Now we are going to get into some deep waters indeed — *Father Coughlin and the New Deal*, by Charles J. Tull (Syracuse University Press, \$6.50, 292 pp.), the latest volume in that Press' "Men and Movements" series, which includes books on Debs, Stevenson, Pinchot, and other prominent American figures. Dr. Tull, assistant professor of history at DePaul University in Chicago, received his doctorate at Notre Dame and is evidently a Catholic, but he has no bias toward Father Coughlin who, along with the Detroit Archdiocese, wouldn't in any way cooperate with the author. Well, no matter — Dr. Tull is a highly capable historian, and he has found plenty of material elsewhere. Father Coughlin, has been the priest at the Shrine of the Little Flower in Royal Oak, Michigan up to very recently. Thirty years ago his voice was shaking the land, first as an anti-Hoover and then as an anti-Roosevelt Savonarola. Coughlin, after quarrels with NBC and CBS, set up

his own radio network, and in stentorian tones entered the parlors of millions of Americans. He also issued the flagrantly anti-Semitic journal, *Social Justice*. When the second world war came around, his inflammatory utterances became a national danger; the Government was embarrassed because it didn't want to make a martyr out of Coughlin. But the Church in its proverbial wisdom intervened, and Archbishop Mooney of Detroit simply shut Coughlin up, and he sank into obscurity. Yet one shudders to remember, as in the case of Senator Joseph McCarthy, what could have happened here. Dr. Tull, who is a careful historian, says that the anti-Semitic Coughlin can't really be called a Fascist — like the term Communist, that word has been too easily batted about. But what did Father Coughlin himself think? The answer occurs in an interview not given much currency at the time, and one which Dr. Tull doesn't seem to know about. The interview was given to a Middle-western writer, Dale Kramer, about 1936 or 1937, at an Iowa radio station from which Coughlin was broadcasting: he plainly told Kramer that there were only two roads stretching into the future, one toward communism and one toward fascism, and he, Coughlin, chose the latter. Anyway, it's something to think about as one remembers the crazy era that this book invokes.

Anti-Semitism, Coughlin's trademark (even when he railed against "international bankers," listeners knew whom he meant), is the subject of a book by the French historian, Jules Isaac, who died two years ago,

just after completing it: *The Teaching of Contempt; Christian Roots of Anti-Semitism* (McGraw-Hill, \$2.15, 154 pp.). Published last year as a hardback by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, this volume has just reappeared in a paperbound edition. Professor Isaac, whose wife and daughter disappeared into the Nazi death camps, was concerned to show how many Christians take anti-Semitism as official doctrine — the Jews are blamed for the Crucifixion and for much more. Through Professor Isaac's ministrations, that enlightened Pope John XXIII deleted the word "perfidious" in the Church's Good Friday prayer for the Jews and abolished other prejudicial references in Church doctrine. In the present book, Jules Isaac looks back into history and traces the Christian origins of anti-Semitic doctrine and its continuance through the ages, believing that this study "is of the greatest significance and will have infinitely beneficial consequences for Christianity as well as for Judaism." It should have; it is a superbly documented presentation of a case.

An altogether different approach to religious matters is found in Joseph R. Washington, Jr.'s *Black Religion: The Negro and Christianity in the United States* (Beacon Press, \$5, 308 pp.). Dr. Washington, who is chaplain of Dickinson College at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, is a Negro who examines historically the religious history of his own people in this country, through plantation meeting camps and Protestant missions up to the congregations of our own day. He finds that the Negro has been less interested in orthodox religion as such than in

movements toward freedom, that he has really neglected theology for social purpose. He sees Martin Luther King, for example, as being motivated more by Gandhi than by Christ, and declares that the movement led by Dr. King is less a quest after religion than justice. In making these statements, Dr. Washington is often merely expressing opinion, but he has a certain amount of documentation to balance his assertions. We at least need to consider his findings, such as: "The Negro folk religion is fundamentally and unequivocally dedicated to freedom, expression, independence, and the rise of Negroes to equal status in the society. The 'genius' of the Negro folk religion is not the 'church' but the use of this structure as an instrument for the fulfillment of its participation as a race in every area of life." Dr. Washington's hope for the future is that the Negro will be assimilated into the genuine Christian community.

A book of quite another kind, William H. Taft's *Missouri Newspapers* (University of Missouri Press, \$8, 428 pp.) will be of interest to many FOCUS/Midwest readers, though it is a highly specialized volume. It contains long chapters on the establishment of the press on the frontier, but much of the book is entirely for the specialist, a painstaking study of the papers themselves, and their management. The last chapters of the volume are devoted almost entirely to rosters, a kind of who's who in present-day Missouri journalism.

By the time you read this, the present reviewer expects to be in Europe, on a research trip, after leaving behind him several book sections

### WILLIAM PLAYING

The trees leaned down toward me.  
I took one giant step.  
Each tree leaned toward the ground.  
Snap! went the wrinkled trap.  
I dug in the yellow ground.  
Roots sucked yellow clay.  
A whip-root snaked on the ground,  
Tripping me heels-to-sky.  
"No fair! No fair!" to the sky.  
Feet mired in blue cement,  
Lattice-work mud in mouth.  
"G'd b' g'd" prayer said.  
To my wife I leave my bike,  
On this day and hour of death;  
To my children, my dog and my toys—  
To the trees, O my breath!

### COLLIOURE AFTERNOON

A while shawl, billowing spring, pushes — billowing — over the mountain shoulder.  
The shawl is a snail, an eel, a python — a white python,  
Blurred by its undulations, humping up and over the hard shoulder bulged into sky.  
Question: Is it cloud or a cloud of blossoms? Answer: Yes.  
Now the shawl softens into an effortless caress,  
Something that does not have to feel but, feeling, might say,  
"Of course." It glides, sinuous as love, into the day.  
An apparition in the rhythm of a blurred shawl.

*John Unterecker*

teaches at Columbia University. His "The Dreaming Zoo," a book for children, has just been published by Henry Z. Walck.

that deal with publications still valuable for consideration after several months. Most of these volumes I've talked about in the present section are still eminently worth talking about; they are consequential social documents helping to provide the basis for an understanding of our time.

## Two From the Right

ERLING JORSTAD

*That Man From Minnesota: An Intimate Profile of Vice President Hubert Humphrey*, by Richard P. Jennett (The Joyce Press, \$.75, 128 pp.)

*"Crusading Preacher from the West:" The Story of Billy James Hargis*, by Dr. Fernando Penabaz, (Christian Crusade Press, \$1.00, 272 pp.)

THESE paperbacks, the first since the 1964 campaign bonanza, reflect the continuing ideological preoccupations of the far right. Jennett covers the little ground unscathed by Haley, Stormer, Schlafly, and Lasky. He claims Humphrey is another Mussolini, planning to create a fascist America. Jennett's logic is contradictory, his documentation is unconvincing, and his objectivity is undetectable. On logic: he fails to define the prerequisites for fascism; he has no comparative Italian-American historical analysis; he offers no evidence that Humphrey studied Mussolini; he finds Il Duce a leftist-liberal. On documentation: his bibliography reveals (1) that his own ideology emerges from reading Ayn Rand and Barry Goldwater; (2) that without footnotes, its 253-item list substantiates nothing; (3) that many items are hopelessly dated. On objectivity: he says Humphrey's ideas are "devilish;" African natives are "cannibals;" the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is Hitlerian.

This vicious little book tries to warm up the old campaign huzzahs. It has one commendation; at least now nothing worse can be written.

Penabaz does far better. He writes to promote Hargis as an authentic conservative and to refute the critics. On the latter score the author starts very well. He disproves the misleading statements about Hargis being dropped from church membership. He explains clearly the reasons for confusion about Hargis' diploma mill degrees. He humorously refutes the

critics' claims about the extravagant "bus" and "parsonage" (pictures would have helped).

However, Penabaz does not have sustained control over his material. He quibbles over irrelevancies such as definitions of "pudgy." Chapters 5 and 6, on Europe in 1953, contribute nothing. The Air Force Manual story hardly needs retelling. He uses Edward Hunter's dated 1961 testimony on the anti-anti-Communist movement instead of using current

research. The book is hastily written, has little new documentation, and leaves unanswered far too many searching criticisms by Sherwin, Walker, the Overstreets, et al.

Chas. K. Berger

Lester Seasongood

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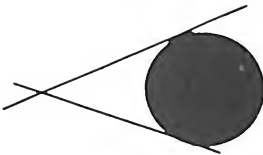
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## THE RIGHT WING

A recent issue of *FOCUS/Midwest* (Vol. III No. 6/7) carried a "Roster of the Right Wing and the Fanatics" describing 45 organizations located or active in the Illinois-Missouri area. This column, "The Right Wing," will keep our readers abreast of new developments. Together with the "Roster" it offers an up-to-date service. Copies of "The Roster" are available at 60c each.

### BIRCH SOCIETY

*Deerfield, Illinois:* The following item appeared in *The Beacon*, published by the North Shore Unitarian Church: "Anyone who missed Gordon Hall's lecture: 'Extremism: Sickness of the Sixties' . . . missed an unusual clinical display of Birchism. Mr. Hall, it appears, is a special target for Birch Society members, on orders from their Belmont, Massachusetts, Fuehrer. They turn out en masse, sit in the 'meeting diamond' pattern they learned from the Communists, and heckle . . . When I use the word *heckle*, I mean that these people do not ask questions even hostile ones — but spout slogans and ask about irrelevancies . . . Questioners refused to yield the floor; one confessed he 'hadn't made up his mind' when challenged by Mr. Hall as to whether he believed Robert Welch's calumny that Dwight Eisenhower is a Communist agent . . ."

*Peoria, Illinois:* Karl Prussion addressed a Birchite meeting presided by John Cervenka. Another official of the group is George M. Cervenka. In his talk he admitted that his California cell had infiltrated the NAACP, ACLU, Democratic Clubs, and PTA. He was "particularly happy Southern whites have not been provoked into violence" by civil rights agitation.

*St. Louis, Missouri:* Author John A. Stormer spoke to the Birchite American Opinion Speakers Forum in Hazelwood. Upcoming speakers are W. Cleon Skousen, G. Edward Griffin, and Dr. George J. Hess, an official of the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons.

### CHRISTIAN CRUSADE

The Seventh Annual National Convention scheduled for August will feature Robert Welch, founder and director of the John Birch Society, among many other right wingers.

The statement of income and expenses for *Christian Echoes Ministry, Inc.* (official title of the Crusade) shows that the 1964 gross receipts were \$834,779.22, the expenses \$782,309.65, and the net profit \$52,469.57. In the same mail Billy Hargis appealed for funds in general ("... we are desperate for financial help . . . \$100 or \$10, \$25 or \$2 . . . please . . .") and their magazine was full of pleading offers of pamphlets, books, tapes, and other material for sale. The issue even included an appeal to mail in books of grocery stamps, "... it will buy a much needed light fixture for the dining room."

### CONSERVATIVE CONGRESS

Marks Andrews, Missouri chairman of the Liberty Amendment Committee (the Committee seeks to abolish the income tax among others), is seeking to organize a third party. He was appointed at the Chicago conservative congress to coordinate all right-wing groups in Missouri. He is assisted by Floyd G. Kitchen, president of the St. Louis Property Owners Association, which staged a joint meeting with the nazistic National States Rights Party.

### GOSPEL TRACT SOCIETY, Inc.

The Kansas City, Missouri publishing center not only publishes and promotes fundamentalist religious literature, but pushes a strong racist and right-wing line. A recent promotional letter by Lester L. Buttram, president and founder, attacks the *Quarterly* of the Southern Baptist Convention for recommending James Baldwin's "Another Country" which follows "a communistic line of race-mixing," and of "pornography." Another Buttram pamphlet is headlined: "Baptist Headquarters Recommends Pornography — Race Mixing."

### INTERNATIONAL YOUTH FEDERATION FOR FREEDOM, Inc

The IYFF announced the promotion of an index covering the "Marxist-Socialist" line. Subscribers will receive 100 quotations on index cards per month. The service is called "The Party Line."

### LIBERTY LOBBY

An article in the May 1965 *Letter* charges that Republican Senator Everett M. Dirksen "has betrayed freedom" by his votes in support of the test-ban treaty, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and Russian Wheat Sale.

### MANION FORUM

"We have had 25 stations cancel us out," complains Dean Manion in his April letter. The June 1965 Manion Forum publication reports that Manion broadcasts now in 44 states only over 306 radio and television stations. In Illinois, they can be heard in Alton (WBBY), Aurora (WKKD), Chicago (WBEE), Evanston (WEAW) and (WEAW-FM), Harvard (WMCW), Joliet (WJRC), Marion (WRMI-FM), Princeton (WZOE), Rock Island (WHBF), and Sterling (WSDR); and in Missouri in Caruthersville (KCRV), Jefferson City (KRCG-TV), Mexico (KXEO), and St. Louis (WSSO).

### UNITED REPUBLICANS OF AMERICA

D. Bruce Evans announced the formation of a new political action group dedicated to the nomination of qualified Conservative candidates by the Republican Party. Its offices are in the building of the arch-conservative publication *Human Events*. It has been publicized by the Liberty Lobby and used the mailing list of the Lobby.

### WE, THE PEOPLE!

A circular by Harry T. Everingham asks readers "to start a Wake Up America Committee" in every community. Apparently, We, The People! is the organizers of the Wake Up America committees. (see "Roster" Vol. III 6-7).

He admits that public exposure had discredited the Birch Society, so that the job cannot be left to the Birchites but must be taken up by We, The People! and the Wake Up America committees, and tell "the public the same startling truths, then people will begin to believe that 'the Birch Society must have been right after all.'"

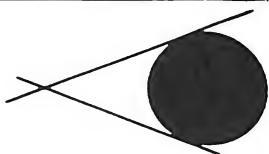
### YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM

A spokesman for the YAF, Alfred Regnerv, declared over the Manion radio Forum. "I think that in most cases the liberal university faculty members go out of their way to be fair and they are willing to hear the other point of view from the student"



## COMING Final Listing of Votes

The coming issue will include all key votes not yet covered in the General Assemblies of Illinois and Missouri. It will also include a summation, listing the action taken in both Houses and by the Governor on all important bills.



## VOTING RECORDS

### States

(Note: Votes with up to eight "nays" are not recorded in the table. However, the "nays" are named in the description of the bill following the vote totals).

Y — Voting for the Bill  
N — Voting against the Bill  
A — Absent  
P — Present but not voting  
V — Vacant (Legislator resigned or deceased)  
HB — House Bill  
SB — House Bill  
HJR — House Joint Resolution

### ILLINOIS SENATE VOTES

(A) **PUNISHES USURY:** HB 149 punishes criminal usury. (Passed 39:0; 4-8-65)  
(B) **PROHIBITS AGE DISCRIMINATION:** SB 76 prohibits unjust discrimination in employment because of age. (Passed 38:7; 4-27-65)  
(C) **LIBRARY SYSTEM:** SB 393 provides a program of state grants to aid in the establishment and development of a network of public library systems. (Passed 53:1; 4-27-65; Nay: Groen.)  
(D) **SEARCH AND SEIZURE:** SB 440 allows police to stop any person in a public place whom the officer reasonably suspects is committing, has committed or is about to commit a felony or violate deadly weapon or narcotic law and may demand the name and address of such person and an explanation of his actions. Provides officer may search person. (Passed 33:10; 4-27-65)  
(E) **CREATES ARTS COUNCIL:** SB 204 creates the Illinois Arts Council and makes appropriation. (Passed 44:0; 5-19-65)  
(F) **RENTAL UPKEEP:** SB 879 provides for the withholding of rental allowances or payments for violations of building codes and similar regulations. (Passed 47:0; 5-19-65)  
(G) **FEPC AMENDMENT:** SB 112 provides that Attorney General shall be the only advisor to commission and that hearing examiners be chosen from list of 50 lawyers furnished by Illinois Supreme Court. (Passed 49:0; 5-26-65)  
(H) **FEPC AMENDMENT:** SB 113 requests breakdown of commission expenditures with report to Governor and General Assembly. (Passed 49:0; 5-26-65)  
(I) **CURRENCY EXCHANGES:** SB 1034 eases restrictions on ambulatory currency exchanges. (Passed 33:11; 5-18-65)

	B	D	O
Arrington (R)	Y	Y	Y
Awerkamp (D)	Y	N	A
Benefiel (D)	Y	N	Y
Bidwill (R)	Y	Y	A
Broyles (R)	Y	Y	Y
Carpentier (R)	Y	Y	N
Cherry (D)	A	A	Y
Collins (R)	N	Y	Y
Coulson (R)	Y	Y	Y
Cronin (D)	A	A	A
Davis (R)	N	Y	Y
DeLaCour (D)	A	A	A
DeTolve (D)	Y	N	N
Dixon (D)	A	A	Y
Donnewald (D)	Y	A	Y
Dougherty (D)	Y	A	N
Drach (R)	Y	Y	P
Fawell (R)	A	Y	Y

	Y	A	Y
Finley (D)	Y	A	Y
Gilbert (R)	A	Y	P
Gottschalk (R)	A	Y	Y
Graham, J. (R)	Y	Y	Y
Graham, P. (R)	Y	Y	A
Grindle (D)	Y	N	Y
Groen (R)	Y	Y	N
Harris (R)	Y	Y	N
Hart (R)	Y	Y	A
Hatch (R)	A	Y	Y
Hoffelder (R)	Y	Y	Y
Kerr (R)	Y	Y	N
Kinnally (D)	Y	N	Y
Kocarek (D)	Y	A	N
Kusibab (D)	Y	A	A
Lanigan (R)	Y	Y	Y
Larson (R)	Y	Y	Y
Latherow (R)	Y	Y	Y
Laughlin (R)	N	Y	Y
Lyons, T. G. (D)	Y	Y	Y
Lyons, W. (D)	Y	N	Y
Martin (R)	A	Y	N
McCarthy (D)	Y	N	Y
McGlooin (D)	A	A	A
Merritt (R)	A	Y	Y
Mitchler (R)	N	Y	Y
Neistein (D)	Y	A	A
Ozinga (R)	N	Y	Y
Peters (R)	Y	Y	A
Peterson (R)	N	Y	Y
Rosander (R)	Y	Y	N
Simon (D)	Y	N	Y
Smith (D)	Y	N	N
Sours (R)	N	Y	Y
Sprague (R)	A	A	Y
Swanson (R)	Y	Y	Y
Swinarski (D)	A	A	A
Traynor (D)	Y	N	A
Welch (D)	Y	A	Y
Ziegler (D)	Y	A	N

### ILLINOIS HOUSE VOTES

(A) **PUNISHES USURY:** HB 149 punishes criminal usury. (Passed 155:0; 3-1-65).  
(B) **FEPC AMENDMENT:** HB 358 provides that use of professionally developed ability tests, where not used to discriminate, is not an unfair employment practice. (Passed 161:0; 3-31-65).  
(C) **COMPENSATORY EDUCATION:** HB 43 provides for compensatory education programs for culturally disadvantaged children. (Passed 156:2; 4-12-65; Nays: Noble W. Lee, Simmons.)  
(D) **PROHIBITS SEX DISCRIMINATION:** HB 887 prohibits discrimination in the payment of wages or wage rates, based on sex. (Passed 148:3; 4-13-65; Nays: Hachmeister, Parkhurst, Rowe.)  
(E) **FAIR HOUSING:** HB 704 provides a person commits a violation of civil rights when he refuses to sell, lease, or rent real property for the purpose of residential occupancy thereof because of race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry. (Passed 101:38; 4-27-65)  
(F) **FAIR HOUSING:** HB 257 prohibits certain practices of discrimination in housing accommodations; creates a Fair Housing Practices Commission. (Passed: 111:39; 4-28-65)  
(G) **PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS:** HB 1092 includes in definition of a public place of accommodation real estate offices, banks, and savings and loan associations. (Passed 111:29; 5-3-65)  
(H) **FAIR HOUSING:** HB 1100 adds as cause for suspension of license the making of any discrimination or distinction in the terms of any real estate transaction on the basis of the race, color, religion, or ancestry or any buyer, seller, or tenant. (Passed 104:34; 5-3-65)  
(I) **BILLBOARD ADVERTISING:** HB 474 regulates billboard and other outdoor advertising. (Passed 93:53; 5-11-65).  
(J) **INCREASES RACING TAX:** HB 1186 increases tax on horse racing meets 1%. (Passed 151:11; 5-11-65).  
(K) **INCREASES HARNESS RACING FEES, TAX:** HB 1187 increases license fee, admission fees, permit fees, and taxes on harness racing. (Passed 149:12; 5-11-65)  
(L) **MIGRANT LABOR CAMPS:** HB 1342 provides that Migrant Labor Camp Law applies to any place operated or maintained as living quarters for ten or more workers or four or more families. Deletes provision camp can operate 21 days without compliance. (Passed 153:0; 5-24-65)  
(M) **PERMITS VIVISECTION:** HB 1393 repeals section of School Code prohibiting experiments upon animals. (Passed 95:60; 5-25-65)  
(N) **PERMITS WIRETAPPING:** HB 452 provides evidence obtained by eavesdropping may be used in prosecution. (Passed 158:0; 5-26-65)

	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	M
Alsop (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	N
Armstrong (D)	A	A	A	A	A	Y	Y	A
Baker (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Barry (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Berry (R)	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Blair (R)	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Blaser (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Boswell (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bowers (R)	A	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Broucek (D)	N	N	A	A	N	Y	Y	N
Burditt (R)	N	A	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Callahan (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Callan (D)	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Canfield (R)	Y	Y	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Carrigan (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	A
Carroll (R)	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Carter (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cassidy (D)	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chapman (D)	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Choate (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Clabaugh (R)	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Clarke (R)	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Collins (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	A
Connelly (D)	Y	A	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Conolly (R)	A	N	N	A	Y	N	N	Y
Costello (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	A
Course (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	A
Craig (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	A	A	Y
Cunningham (R)	A	N	N	N	A	N	Y	Y
Dale (R)	A	N	A	A	N	Y	Y	Y
Daley (D)	N	A	A	N	Y	Y	Y	A
Davis (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	A
Dawson (R)	Y	N	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
DeMichaels (D)	N	Y	Y	A	N	Y	Y	A
DiPrima (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	A
Downes (D)	N	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Downey (D)	N	A	Y	A	A	Y	Y	N
Eisenhower (R)	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Elward (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Euazzino (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
Fanta (D)	A	A	Y	A	A	Y	Y	N
Fary (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Fennessey (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Fitzgerrell (R)	A	N	A	N	N	N	A	A
Frey (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Garmisa (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Geisler (R)	A	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Giblin (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Giorgi (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Goldstick (D)	A	Y	A	A	N	Y	Y	Y
Grow (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hachmeister (R)	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Hanahan (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Hannigan (D)	A	Y	A	A	N	Y	Y	N
Harris (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hartnett (D)	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hill (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Holloway (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Horsley (R)	Y	A	A	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Houlihan (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Hurst (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Jacobs (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Jenison (R)	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Johnston (R)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Jones, J. (R)	A	N	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Jones, L. (R)	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Katz (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A	A	Y
Kennedy, J. (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kennedy, L. (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kirie (D)	A	A	A	Y	A	Y	Y	N
Klein (R)	N	N	N	N	A	N	Y	Y
Kleine (R)	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Knuepfer (R)	Y	N	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lee, C. (D)	A	Y	Y	Y	A	P	P	Y
Lee, N. (R)	Y	A	A	Y	A	Y	A	Y
Lehman (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Lenard (D)	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	A
Leon (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Lewis (R)	A	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Lieberman (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Loughran (D)	A	Y	A	A	A	Y	A	N
Loukas (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Lucas (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y
Lyman (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	N
Mahoney (D)	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Majewski (D)	N	Y	A	A	A	Y	Y	N
Mann (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
McClain (D)	A	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
McCormick, H. (R)	N	A	A	A	Y	Y	Y	A
McCormick, C. (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	A
McCully (R)	A	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
McDermott (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	N
McDevitt (R)	A	A	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
McLendon (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
McNairy (D)	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
McNichols (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	A	Y	Y	Y
McPartlin (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	N
Meany (R)	A	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Merlo (D)	A	A	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	N
Mikva (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mills (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	N
Moore, D. (R)	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Moore, W. (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Moran (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Morgan (R)	Y	N	N	A	N	Y	Y	N
Morris (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
Neff (R)	A	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Obernuefeman (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
O'Brien (D)	Y	Y	A	A	Y	Y	Y	N
O'Neill (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Oughton (R)	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y



Appierz (R)	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Parkhurst (R)	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Partee (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pebworth (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Peskin (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pfeffer (D)	A	Y	A	Y	N	A	A	N
Pierce, D. (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pierce, W. (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pollack (R)	N	N	N	N	N	A	A	N
Pusateri (R)	A	N	Y	A	A	A	A	Y
Railsback (R)	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Randolph (R)	N	N	A	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Ratcliffe (D)	A	A	Y	Y	Y	A	A	Y
Rayson (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Redmond (D)	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Rhodes (R)	Y	A	A	A	A	A	A	Y
Rink (D)	Y	Y	A	A	N	Y	Y	A
Romano (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
Ropa (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Rowe (R)	Y	N	N	N	A	A	A	Y
Ruddy (R)	N	N	A	A	Y	Y	A	N
Russell (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Sanders (D)	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Saperstein (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Scariano (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Schaefer (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Schlickman (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Schoeninger (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Schraeder (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Scott (D)	A	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Sensor (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	A	Y	N
Shaw (D)	A	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	N
Simmons (R)	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Sisler (R)	Y	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Slater (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Small (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Smith, C. (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Smith, F. (D)	N	A	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Smith, R. (R)	Y	Y	A	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Soderstrom (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Stedelin (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Stevenson (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stremlau (D)	A	Y	A	A	A	Y	Y	N
Svalina (D)	N	N	N	N	A	Y	Y	N
Tanner (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Teefey (D)	Y	Y	A	A	Y	Y	Y	N
Thiem (R)	N	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Touhy (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tumpach (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Vitek (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	P	Y	Y	Y
Von Boeckman (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Walsh, R. A. (R)	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Walsh, R. V. (D)	N	Y	Y	A	Y	A	A	Y
Walsh, W. (R)	A	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Warman (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Washington (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Welsh (D)	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Whalen (D)	A	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	N
Wiktorski (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wittmond (D)	A	Y	A	A	Y	Y	Y	A
Wolbank (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Wolf (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
Wolfe (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y
Woodward (R)	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Youle (R)	N	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Zagone (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	N

## MISSOURI SENATE VOTES

(A) **COLLECTIVE BARGAINING:** SB 112 provides collective bargaining rights for state employees and its political subdivisions. (Passed 18:14; 4-7-65)

(B) **CENSORSHIP:** SB 186 permits officials to obtain injunction against sale of obscene literature. (Passed 31:0; 4-14-65)

(C) **ARREST ON SUSPICION:** SB 192 gives police power of arrest on suspicion a person has or is about to commit a crime. (Passed 28:0; 4-28-65)

(D) **STRENGTHENS FEPC:** SB 235 extends scope of fair employment practices law to prevent discrimination. (Passed 28:0; 4-28-65)

(E) **NON-PARTISAN COURT:** SB 103 provides for the non-partisan selection of judges in St. Louis County. (Passed 23:10; 5-5-65)

(F) **GUBERNATORIAL SUCCESSION:** HJR 3 proposes constitutional amendment which would allow the Governor, including the incumbent, to succeed himself. (Passed 26:5; 5-12-65)

(G) **INJURY TO CHILDREN:** HB 118 obliges physicians to report willful injury to children by cruel and inhuman treatment. (Passed 26:8; 5-12-65)

(H) **PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS:** SB 246 prohibits discrimination in places of public accommodation. (Passed 30:1; 5-19-65)

(I) **AIR POLLUTION:** SB 132 creates Air Conservation Commission with authority to regulate air pollution. (Passed 28:3; 5-19-65)

(J) **REVEAL JUVENILE RECORD:** SB 50 permits officials to open to the public juvenile court hearings and records. (Defeated 14:18; 5-25-65)

(K) **LICENSE HEARING EXAMINER:** SB 284 creates Administrative Hearing Commission

to hear cases brought by professional licensing boards. (Passed 24:4; 5-26-65)

	A	E	G	J
Avery (D)	N	Y	A	N
Barrett (D)	Y	Y	Y	N
Berra (D)	Y	Y	Y	N
Blackwell (D)	Y	Y	A	N
Bondurant (R)	Y	Y	Y	N
Brancato (D)	Y	Y	Y	N
Cason (D)	Y	N	Y	Y
Cox (R)	N	N	Y	Y
Curtis (R)	N	Y	Y	N
Downs (D)	A	N	A	N
Hatcher (R)	N	N	Y	N
Hill (R)	A	N	Y	Y
Hopfinger (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y
Johnson (D)	Y	Y	A	N
Jones, C. (R)	N	N	Y	N
Jones, J. (D)	N	N	A	Y
Joynt (D)	Y	Y	Y	N
Keating (D)	Y	Y	A	N
Kelly (R)	N	A	A	Y
Kinney (D)	N	Y	Y	A
McNeal (D)	Y	Y	Y	N
Mackie (D)	N	Y	Y	Y
Owens (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y
Patterson (D)	N	Y	Y	Y
Pentland (D)	Y	Y	Y	N
Schechter (D)	Y	Y	Y	N
Spradling (D)	Y	Y	A	A
Taylor (R)	N	Y	Y	Y
Tinnin (D)	N	N	Y	Y
Vanlandingham (D)	Y	N	Y	Y
Waters (D)	N	Y	Y	N
Webster (R)	Y	N	Y	Y
Woolsey (R)	N	Y	Y	Y
Young (D)	Y	N	Y	N

## MISSOURI HOUSE VOTES

(A) **UNIVERSITY BRANCHES:** HB 210 establishes branches of University of Missouri at St. Joseph and Joplin. (Passed 109:40; 3-31-65)

(B) **MUNICIPAL CONSOLIDATION:** HB 351 eases consolidation of cities, towns, and villages in St. Louis County. (Defeated on second reading 81:76; 4-1-65)

(C) **AID TO CHILDREN:** HB 162 provides aid to dependent children when parental support is lacking due to unemployment. Permits aid even when father resides in home. (Passed 116:24; 5-3-65)

(D) **CONFLICT OF INTEREST:** HB 422 prohibits state officers and employees from engaging in activities which conflict with their official status. (Passed 141:0; 5-12-65)

(E) **CIVIL RIGHTS:** HB 129 repeals law prohibiting marriage between white persons and Negroes or white persons and Mongolians. (Passed 100:30; 5-17-65)

(F) **BOND VOTE:** HJR 21, 25, 28 & 29 establishes sixty per cent majority for passage of bonds. (Passed 98:52; 5-19-65)

(G) **SCHOOL TAX:** HJR 26 provides that school districts may levy up to \$1.50 on \$100 assessed valuation. (Passed 145:1; 5-19-65)

	A	B	C	E	F
Allen (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Allmon (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Arnold, J. (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Arnold, L. (D)	Y	N	N	N	N
Baker, L. (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Baker, T. (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Bassman (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Bauer, M. C. (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	A
Bauer, M. E. (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Beckerle (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Belt (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Berry (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
Betz (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	A
Beydler (R)	N	N	N	N	Y
Bollinger (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Brandwein (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Brenton (R)	N	N	N	N	Y
Broomfield (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Butler (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Callow (R)	N	N	N	N	N
Calloway (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Campbell (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Canada (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Cannon (D)	N	Y	A	A	N
Cantrell (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Carnahan (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Carter (R)	Y	N	A	A	N
Case (R)	N	N	Y	N	N
Casey (D)	N	N	Y	Y	N
Childers (D)	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Clements (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Comstock (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Conley (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Connors (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Copeland (D)	Y	P	A	A	Y
Cox (D)	N	N	P	Y	Y
Crigger (D)	N	Y	Y	A	N
Crockett (D)	N	N	Y	Y	N

Croley (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dames (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Davidson (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Davis (D)	N	Y	A	A	Y
DeCoster (D)	Y	N	Y	A	N
Degenhardt (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Devoy (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dickey (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Dickson (R)	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Dinger (D)	Y	N	Y	A	Y
Duensing (R)	N	N	Y	A	Y
Ellis (D)	A	P	Y	N	Y
Fickle (D)	Y	Y	A	N	Y
Flakne (D)	Y	N	Y	A	N
Foley (D)	Y	N	Y	A	Y
Frost (D)	N	N	Y	A	N
Gann (R)	N	N	N	N	Y
Garner (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Garrett (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Gault (R)	N	N	Y	N	N
Glover (D)	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Goddard (D)	A	A	Y	Y	A
Godfrey (D)	Y	N	Y	A	Y
Goode (D)	A	N	Y	Y	Y
Gosser (R)	N	N	A	N	N
Graham (D)	A	N	A	A	A
Gralike (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Grellner (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Groce (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Growney (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hancock (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Hankins (R)	Y	N	N	N	A
Hardy (D)	A	N	Y	Y	Y
Harlow (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Harris (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Heckemeyer (D)	N	N	Y	N	N
Henson (D)	A	Y	A	A	Y
Hibler (D)	Y	N	N	A	Y
Hickey (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	Y
Holland (R)	N	N	Y	Y	N
Holliday (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Howard (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
James, C. (D)	A	N	N	A	N
James, V. (R)	N	N	N	Y	N
Jasper (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
Jordan (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Kay (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Keane (D)	N	Y	Y	A	Y
Kennedy (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
King, S. (R)	N	N	N	A	N
King, R. (R)	Y	N	A	A	Y
Kostron (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Lane (D)	Y	N	A	Y	N
Lisle (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mann (R)	N	N	N	N	N
Masters (D)	N	N	Y	N	N
Maughmer (R)	N	N	N	N	Y
Mazucca, F. (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Mazucca, E. (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	N
McCubbin (R)	Y	N	N	Y	Y
McFadin (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
McMullin (D)	Y	N	Y	A	Y
Melton (R)	Y	N	N	N	A
Meyer (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mickelson (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Misbauer (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Niewoehner (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Noland (R)	N	N	N	N	N
O'Connor (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
O'Reilly (D)	Y	Y	A	N	A
Owen (D)	Y	N	P	N	N
Pace, F. (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pace G. (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Patterson (D)	V	V	Y	Y	Y
Petrovic (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Phelps (R)	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Portell (D)	A	A	A	N	Y
Proffer (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Rabbitt (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Raiffie (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
Rains (D)	A	N	Y	Y	Y
Reed, (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Roberts (D)	Y	Y	A	A	Y
Robinson, J. (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Robinson, F. (D)	Y	Y	A	A	A
Rolwing (D)	Y	N	Y	A	Y
Ross (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Rothman (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Russell, J. T. (D)	Y	N	N	A	N
Russell, J. (R)	A	Y	Y	A	Y
Ryan (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
St. Peter (R)	N	N	P	N	N
Salley (D)	Y	N	Y	N	N
Scaglia (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Schapeler (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Schramm (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Seay (D)	Y	N	Y	A	Y
Shaver (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Sheehan (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Shuey (D)	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Simcoe (D)	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Sims (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Skaggs (D)	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Snider (D)	N	Y	N	N	Y
Southern (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Spainhower (D)	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Speer (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Sponsler (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	A
Stotts (R)	Y	A	Y	N	A
Stutler (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Thomas (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Troupe (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Uthlaut (R)	Y	N	A	A	N
Vaughan (R)	Y	N	N	N	N
Walsh (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	A
Warden (R)	Y	N	A	Y	Y
Weber (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Wells (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Whitney (R)	Y	N	A	Y	Y
Wigfield (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Williams, J. (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Williams, P. (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Young (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Zeilmann (R)	N	N	N	N	N
Zimmerman (R)	A	N	A	A	N

## Congress

### Key to Symbols:

Y—Voting for the Bill  
N—Voting against the Bill  
A—Absent  
PY—Paired for the Bill  
PN—Paired against the Bill  
HR—House Bill  
S—Senate Bill  
H RES—House Resolution

## U. S. SENATE VOTES

(A) **HR 2362 CHURCH SUPPORT.** Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Dominick (R Colo.) amendment to stipulate that no payments authorized by the Act could be used to construct facilities or hire teachers at schools where there was religious worship or instruction. Rejected 20-68; R 14-17; D 6-51 (ND 1-39; SD 5-12), 4-9-65. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President.

(B) **HR 2362 EDUCATION BILL PASSAGE.** Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, providing: a three-year program of grants to states for allocation to school districts with large numbers of children from low-income families; grants for purchase of books and library materials, funds to improve educational research; and grants to strengthen state departments of education. Passed 73-18; R 18-14; D 55-4 (ND 40-0; SD 15-4), 4-9-65. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(C) **HJ Res 447 MILITARY APPROPRIATION.** Provides \$700 million in fiscal 1965 supplemental appropriations for United States military operations in Southeast Asia, to remain available until expended. The passage of the bill was generally regarded as a vote of confidence for the President's foreign policy. Passed 88-3; R 31-0; D 57-3 (ND 38-3; SD 19-0), 5-6-65. (Nays by Gruening, Morse, and Nelson). A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

U. S. SENATORS	A	B	C
Dirksen (R. Ill.)	N	Y	Y
Douglas (D. Ill.)	N	Y	Y
Long (D. Mo.)	N	Y	Y
Symington (D. Mo.)	AN	PY	Y

## U. S. HOUSE VOTES

(A) **HR 2998 DISARMAMENT UNIT APPROPRIATION.** Adoption of the conference report authorizing appropriations of \$30 million during fiscal 1966-68 for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Adopted: 316-65; R 86-38; D 230-27 (ND 173-1; SD 57-26), 4-13-65. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(B) **H RES 310 KKK INVESTIGATION.** Resolution authorizing expenditure of \$50,000 by the House Un-American Activities Committee for an investigation of the Ku Klux Klan. Adopted 313-43; R 108-3; D 205-40 (ND 127-35; SD 78-5), 4-14-65. The President did not take a position.

(C) **S 4 WATER POLLUTION CONTROL.** Amends the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to authorize \$20 million annually during fiscal 1966-69 for grants to state and municipalities to demonstrate improved methods of controlling water pollution. Passed 396-0, 4-28-65. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(D) **HR 4714 ARTS COUNCIL.** Amends the National Arts and Cultural Development Act of 1964 to provide that the \$150,000 appropriations authorization for the National Council on the Arts — provided in the Act — be on an annual basis. Passed 239-116; R 55-70; D 184-46 (ND 141-5; SD 43-41), 4-29-65. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

### U. S. HOUSE

ILLINOIS	A	B	D
21 Gray (D)	A	Y	Y
24 Price (D)	Y	Y	Y
19 Schisler (D)	Y	Y	A
23 Shipley (D)	Y	A	N
16 Anderson (R)	PY	Y	N
17 Arends (R)	Y	Y	N
14 Erlendson (R)	N	Y	N
20 Findley (R)	N	Y	PN
12 McClory (R)	Y	A	Y
18 Michel (R)	PN	Y	Y
15 Reid (R)	N	Y	N
22 Springer (R)	Y	Y	Y
CHICAGO			
7 Annunzio (D)	Y	Y	Y
1 Dawson (D)	A	A	A
5 Kluczynski (D)	A	A	A
3 Murphy (D)	Y	Y	Y
2 O'Hara (D)	Y	N	Y
11 Pucinski (D)	Y	Y	Y
6 Ronan (D)	Y	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski (D)	PY	A	Y
9 Yates (D)	A	Y	Y
10 Collier (R)	N	A	N
4 Derwinski (R)	Y	Y	N
13 Rumsfeld (R)	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI			
5 Bolling (D)	Y	Y	Y
6 Hull (D)	Y	Y	N
9 Hungate (D)	Y	Y	Y
8 Ichord (D)	Y	Y	Y
10 Jones (D)	Y	Y	A
1 Karsten (D)	Y	Y	Y
4 Randall (D)	Y	Y	Y
3 Sullivan (D)	Y	Y	Y
2 Curtis (R)	Y	Y	N
7 Hall (R)	N	Y	N



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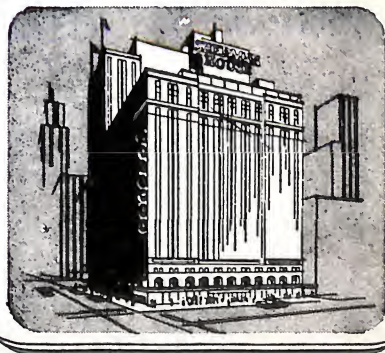
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